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women writing portuguese colonialism in africa

ana paula ferreira

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Women Writing Portuguese Colonialism in Africa

ANA PAULA FERREIRA

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To my parents, who left in the late 1960s.

And to my brothers, who stayed and endured.

E Próspero morreu
Sem ter morrido
Que as magias que fez
Nos deixaram ainda descendência.

(And Prospero died
Without having passed away
Since the spells that he made
Have still left us descendants.)

Ana Luísa Amaral (2011: 50)

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Greg Membrez reminds me every day that doing research is a joy that need not be connected with academia. I thank him for his love and support.

Introduction

More than a decade after the onset of democracy in Portugal on April 25, 1974 and the process of decolonization that followed a memory boom began to appear in Portuguese culture. It favored the still living memories of the last period of empire, beginning with those of the military, who had served in the war waged by the Salazar/Caetano dictatorship against the liberation struggle going on in three African colonies between 1961 and 1974.[1] By the end of the 2000s, the culture of memory was associated with the narratives of so-called *retornados*, between five and seven hundred thousand former colonists and their families who fled mostly from Angola and Mozambique between 1974 and 1975.[2] Considering the unstable, volatile conjuncture of the recently won democracy, a surprising feat by the very military whose job was defending the five hundred-year empire, it is unsurprising that individual memories failed to amount to a collective narrative about the recent past.[3] As media, literary, visual and ever multiplying academic discourse returned to that "end without a future" (Pitta 2010), colonial history was ignored, as if all that mattered began with the collapse of the empire. Despite the editorial and academic success garnered by fictional memories authored by the daughters of former colonists, little is known about those who preceded their writing about the entanglement of gender and colonialism across the twentieth century. How were "women" and "colonialism" discursively constructed from the geographical, temporal and existential distance of a metropolitan place of return imposing writing and reflection?

The present book did not originate as a reaction to the erasure of the not-so-immediate past by the "memorialist obsession connected to the end of empire" (Peralta 2011a). When beginning a project on issues of representation of history in the fiction of Lídia Jorge (1946–), I often found myself wondering if, aside from the authors of the famous *Novas cartas portuguesas* (1972—*New Portuguese Letters* [1975]), women from previous generations had not written about the dictatorship and/or colonialism.

My research into histories of literature and reference materials found in US libraries led me to the National Library of Portugal, where I spent the greater part of three summers reading relevant primary and secondary sources, including period literature.[4] Directly or indirectly, many authors suggested that the problem with Portuguese colonialism in Africa until about the 1950s was a dearth not only of settlers but also of women who were appropriately conscious of their colonialist or civilizational mission. This type of criticism reappears with sarcasm in post-colonial narratives (e.g. Jorge 1988 and Figueiredo 2009).[5] Meanwhile, Lídia Jorge's *A costa dos murmúrios* (1988—*The Murmuring Coast* 1995) was on its way to becoming the privileged site for colonial memory limited to women's involvement in the colonial war (Ribeiro 2004). By the mid-2000s, studies and testimonies regarding that involvement began to multiply.[6] But there was no scholarship focusing on earlier periods Portuguese colonialism in Africa, and much less on what women had to do with it.

Certainly there had been an important international congress in 1994 reclaiming the role of women in the history of Portuguese expansion. It was held at the Gulbenkian Foundation in Lisbon and organized by the Commission on the Equality and Rights of Women under the celebratory mode orchestrated by the National Commission for the Celebration of the Discoveries.[7] The proceedings were quickly published under the title *O rosto feminino da expansão portuguesa*. As was to happen in other fields of cultural production in the 1990s and beyond, celebrations of empire did not critically engage with colonialism in Africa, but rather foreclosed it (Sapega 2008b). That is also partially applicable to an edited collection published in 2008 by Clara Sarmento, *Women in the Portuguese Empire: The Theater of Shadows*.[8] Although the interdisciplinary volume aims to undo the exclusion of women from the historical memory of empire, the plurality of time frames and locations, topics, places and subjects of enunciation is such that no coherent understanding can be construed of what the Portuguese version calls the "feminine condition in the Portuguese colonial empire." These valuable and much needed studies of gender and empire recuperating empire's traditionally excluded agents as well as, in some cases, silenced resistant subjects draw a large canvas within which more focused studies on particular periods are in order.

By the time Sarmento's collection was published, the scholarship on women and late European empires was already substantial, having developed since the 1980s in parallel with an outpouring of colonial memories in print and visual cultures in English (Lassner 2004: 1–2).[9] First focusing on the British and subsequently on the French and other European empires, historians and literary and cultural critics have pointed out the active roles

that women played in both the material and symbolic construction of late empires. They have also emphasized the vulnerability of empire, treating colony and metropole as "a single analytical field" as per the suggestion originally put forward by Ann Stoler and Frederick Cooper.[10] Nowhere is that "single analytical field" more clearly exhibited than the home, where women in their normative role as wives and mothers are held responsible for the health and strength of the imperial nation (Davin 1997: 105). Similarly, critiques of colonialism before and after the official end of empire rely on the deconstruction of myths of gender privilege played out in intimacy to expose the pervasive hold of colonialism and colonial racism as structures of thought.

That basic insight, which will be queried here in relation to the late Portuguese empire, depends upon a critical lens of gender that insists on referring to "women" while rejecting fixed, essentialist understandings of the term. Just as the imperial memorialist turn was taking off in the 1980s, feminist historians began to demonstrate the gendered culture of empire and specifically the role of women alongside men in producing that culture (Callaway 1987). At the same time, feminist poet and philosopher Denise Riley warned against projects of revision or historical recuperation that ignored the instability, ever-changing and relational character of the category "women," an argument she extended to other categories of identity (1988: 1–17). Joan Scott in turn advised that feminist historians interested in making women visible had to probe, on one hand, symbolic representations and the contexts in which they appear and, on the other, interpretations of those symbols that endeavor to fix their meanings (2013: 94). Even if by now such important insights of feminist theory may have been superseded by the queer turn and its subsequent developments, it is important to evoke them because, methodologically, they guide the research that is here presented.

Following Lawrence Grossberg's suggestion in *Cultural Studies in the Future Sense* (Grossberg 2010), a "conjuncturalist" approach of radical contextualization inspires each chapter. Literary works as well as other cultural products are treated as assumed entry points into a context. Their articulation with each other as well as with a range of historical, social and political discourses point to a potential story. That story is intimated in discontinuous and non-causal ways by the analysis of stories that women write about Portuguese colonialism in Africa and its aftermath. Each chapter pursues that would-be story within a temporal frame associated with a number of historical, social and cultural contexts that, while referring to a specific nation-state, point to much broader conjunctures. They or the contextualized stories that illuminate those conjunctures as such appeal to an ongoing project of cultural criticism with a political intent

beyond recuperating women as traditionally ignored or excluded historical agents. That intent is historical transformation as regards "women" and "colonialism"—not those supposed to be past but the ones lingering in a range of post-dictatorship/post-empire affects.

It is instructive to evoke on that account the insights of Portuguese feminist social scientists, Maria Belo, Ana Paula Alão and Yolanda Neves. In the late 1980s, when studies of gender were beginning to circulate in Portuguese academia (e.g. Serrão 1986), they convincingly argued just how much Salazar's New State—not unlike other nationalist dictatorships in the twentieth century—had exploited the symbolic valence of the category "women" to define and inculcate in the culture at large the desirable, instrumental meaning of that category.[11] In contrast to the heterosexist model of seduction used by other dictators to get women on their side, by masquerading a "womanly" model of governing the state Salazar seduced women into identification and hence complicity (Belo et al. 1987: 274). In rejecting facile, essentialist notions of women as victims of male oppression, that provocative suggestion leads one to probe into Salazar's peculiarly feminine strategies of consensus.[12] Hence, the question of what did women have to do not only with supporting the ongoing dictatorship but, specifically, the African colonialism that became its raison d'être beyond the 1950s when most Europeans living in Africa were ready to leave "with suitcases packed."[13] When looking closely at how women describe themselves and how men describe them in relation to the project of colonialism at different points in time, it becomes clear how far women were implicated in their own symbolic production along with and inextricably from that of the imperialist and, more fundamentally, colonialist nation.[14]

Women Writing Portuguese Late Colonialism thus traces the response of women writers, journalists and activists to the colonization, the anti-colonial opposition and the decolonization of African territories ruled by Portugal in the period ensuing from the Berlin Conference (1884–1885). Each of the five chapters draws from a substantial number of interdisciplinary sources contemporary to the women-authored primary writings in focus. Thus, historiographical, essayistic, literary, social-scientific, journalistic, musical, visual and moving image texts bring to light the particular thematic link between gender and colonialism that crystallizes at specific points in time. The first link and one that was arguably decisive for the instantiation of empire in the concrete form of colonialism, as decided by the policy of "effective occupation" formulated at the Berlin Conference, was women's education. The first chapter shows how the debates surrounding the right of women to public secondary education were increasingly connected throughout the nineteenth century to the viability and indeed survival

of Portugal as a civilized European country with an overseas empire.[15] What was at stake was the victory of feminist demands for women's education (among other things), initially with the support of the new democratic republic, proclaimed in October 1910, just as António de Oliveira Salazar (1889–1970), the future dictator, was entering the Law School at the University of Coimbra. In a series of articles he published then, he proffered his first sentence sending women back home to mother, with not one word about empire (Salazar 1912–1913). Curiously, as feminists divorced from the republican government, which failed to honor their longtime demand for suffrage, the copula of feminism and education no longer sought legitimation in saving the empire.

However, by the 1920s and 1930s, there were several women publishing colonial fiction, ethnography, folklore and history in response to government-sponsored initiatives to promote the empire. Their works, perused in the second chapter, not only engage with but thematically perform the model of feminine difference that Salazar's 1933 Constitution proclaimed under the exception to the article assuring the "equality of all citizens before the law" (*Constituição* 1936: 4–5). As is the case with colonial literature in general, that authored by women followed upon the earlier directive of the republican government to discourage emigration to Brazil or the USA while convincing young, healthy families to settle in and develop the African colonies as supposed extensions of rural Portugal. Yet compulsory native labor as well as the violence against African ways of life and culture, came under attack from self-conscious, performative "feminine" perspectives drawing sentimental critical scenarios of European colonialism. Their individual and politically non-aligned feminist leanings suggest a degree of critical consciousness about the connection, both temporal and political, between the cultural legitimacy that women writers were acquiring in Portuguese culture of the mid to late 1930s and the violence and exploitation of colonialism.[16]

Subsequent to Salazar's centralization of colonial government limiting emigration to the colonies to those (men) with professions and capital to invest, the so-called problem of miscegenation takes center stage in literature written by women (as also by men) about the African empire. The topic is explored at length in Chapter 3, which covers the mid-1930s to the late 1950s from a variety of perspectives in connection to African colonialism but also increasingly to its rejection. Miscegenation becomes the nexus around which writers growing opposed to Salazar's regime, such as Maria Archer (1899–1982), criticized the human violence involved in makeshift, exploitative relationships between Portuguese men and African women. That critical trend continued, but was also examined from different gender

perspectives and in different geopolitical locations in the 1940s and 1950s by those responding to the circulation of Lusotropicalist justifications for colonialism—surely not by that name.[17] Exiled in Brazil with opponents of Salazar's regime, Archer would go on to suggest the collapse of the Lusocentrism typical of Gilberto Freyre and fascist-colonialist thought in favor of an Afrocentric argument for what much later, in the mid-1990s, would be called "Lusofonia."

The terms of Archer's provocation find no echo among her contemporaries but that is not the case with her defiance of Salazar's colonialist order which, by April of 1961, is in open battle against independence fighters in Angola. Subsequent generations of writers variously representing feminist leanings exposed the role assigned to women in that order particularly in connection with the manifold aspects of colonialism. Writers from the first two generations are presented in Chapter 4, inspired by their common if incongruent critique of what more recently became known as "the coloniality of gender" (Lugones 2008). The central focus of the chapter is *Novas cartas portuguesas* (*New Portuguese Letters*) published in 1972 by Maria Isabel Barreno (1936–2016), Maria Teresa Horta (1937–) and Maria Velho da Costa (1938–) and immediately banned by the regime of Prime Minister Marcello Caetano, who had succeeded Salazar in 1968. The hybrid, discontinuous text both dramatizes and comments upon the feminist notion of "woman as colony of man" circulating at the time in the broader context of anti-imperialist activism. Despite its aesthetic experimentalism, it is arguably the earliest public record of what could not be publicly enunciated, namely the deaths along with the physical and mental traumas suffered by the military who were forced to serve for at least two years in one of three African colonies struggling against ongoing Portuguese colonialism. Angolan-born Wanda Ramos (1948–1998) and the aforementioned Lídia Jorge, who joined their military husbands, thus emulating the settler colonialism that had finally taken off in Angola and Mozambique, memorialize that experience some time after it was all over. The chapter concludes with an analysis of their respective works, calling attention to the complicity between women and colonialism between women and colonialism in Portuguese society at large. Their works evince the racist thinking and behaviors affecting the colonized African women in particular, arguably as a result of the naturalized, patriarchal and sexist ideology of love in Western culture. This is not unlike what has been suggested about other European women, feminists and not, in relation to "native women" (e.g. Ramusack 1992; Burton 1992).

Despite the testimonies, both real and fictional, surfacing in the literary texts perused in the previous chapter, they command figurative and even argumentative rather than ontological or anthropological value. In the

same way that "women" are produced in and as part of a critical, humanist discourse on Portuguese colonialism in Africa, "women" also emerge in critical reflections of the continuing cultural appeal of imperialist-colonialist myths of nation along with their irreversible violent effects, racism first and foremost. Later texts by some of the writers studied in Chapter 4 are perused in Chapter 5 in the context of post-European integration Portugal of the 1990s celebrating the fifth centenary of overseas expansion. Maria Teresa Horta and Maria Velho da Costa, in characteristically experimental, anti-realist form, along with an assumedly testimonial Lídia Jorge, pay witness in different ways to the influx of thousands of Africans into Portuguese society from the mid-1980s through the 1990s for what was an explosion of public works partly similar to what had prompted Cape Verdean immigration back in the 1960s. Anticipating or responding to the new mythologization of the so-called Portuguese Discoveries in multiculturalist key that came to a climax with the World's Fair held in Lisbon in 1998, their stories call attention to the always-already entanglement of Lusotropicalism and racism. Each offers a unique, multi-level, complex representation of colonial genealogies of race relations or racisms, paying particular attention to how women were involved in perpetuating colonial racism in the former colonial metropole. Only by ignoring the news in the media, the research of social scientists and, overwhelmingly, the artistic productions that brought into view and indicted the phenomenon of racism in the 1990s and early 2000s can the lack of any memory of colonial racism be decried. In that particularly contradictory period that memory surfaced again and again, which is not to say that the great pan-European media and government initiatives of the 1990s to bring attention to and ideally combat racism have had positive or enduring consequences. The memory of empire, after all, is not only fluid, adaptable and hence selective, but also amnesiac. A case in point is the frame of President Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa's 2016 address to the Diplomatic Corps evoking the "universalist and humanist vocation of Portuguese society in general" (my translation); another is former president Aníbal Cavaco Silva's use of "amnesiac memories" in commemorative speeches (Cardina 2016). Matt Matsuda has in fact argued that memories of empire are amnesiac (2004). On the other hand, as Machaqueiro suggests, part of the alleged "collective amnesia" regarding the colonial past might be due to the lack of visibility of works documenting memories of colonialism and decolonization (2015: 229).

The preoccupation with settling disagreements over the politics of decolonization and their corresponding memories, or with presenting individual testimonies of the human, material and symbolic "loss" of Portuguese settlers, has resulted in almost no narrative admitting the

historical "fault" of colonialism and colonizers themselves (Machaqueiro 2015: 233–38). There are important works of literature that have more than admitted to such "fault," for example, those by António Lobo Antunes, João de Melo, Manuel Alegre and Lídia Jorge studied by Margarida Calafate Ribeiro in *Uma história de regressos: Império, guerra colonial e pós-colonialismo* (2004). But it is those with stories of "return" to tell who are connected with the post-empire culture of memory in Portugal. As is the case in formerly repressive states, that culture may be exploited by what Elizabeth Jelin calls "memory entrepreneurs," not interested in fault-finding but rather in reiterating Luso-exceptionalist commonplaces (Pinto and Jerónimo 2015: 112; Jerónimo 2016: 82–84). Examples of *retornado* memories inviting uncritical identification or escape are Júlio de Magalhães's *Os retornados: Um amor nunca se esquece* (2008—*The Retornados: A Love Is Never Forgotten*) and *À sombra do imbondeiro* (2012—*Under the Baobab's Shade*) by Isabel Valadão.

In contrast, two narratives of children of "returnees" that spare no criticisms of colonialism and have been met with critical acclaim are *Caderno de memórias coloniais*, originally published in 2009 by Mozambican-born Isabela de Figueiredo (1963–), and *O retorno* (2011) by Dulce Maria Cardoso (1964–). From the not-so-fictional to the fictional memoir, in both cases privileging the perspective of young teenagers moving from an African colony to an inhospitable and disappointing metropole, both texts confront in different and complex ways the thorny issue of colonial "fault" as they construct young dislocated persons cut off from what to them was the familiarity and comfort of home in Africa. The present book thus comes to a conclusion by calling for the need to consider the representation of the mother in narratives of colonial memory that deliberately perform the old commonplace according to which colonialism is identified with the father. That consideration may be an encouragement to go back in history and attempt to gather, as in the present book, what one-time prime minister Maria de Lurdes Pintasilgo (1930–2004) called the "fio da memória" ("memory thread"), which continues to be ignored by all the memory hype and is connected to the conditions of women's lives (Pintasilgo 2005: 178–79).

Curiously, writing or, more broadly, women's literate agency and independence in the context of the end of empire is presented in *Caderno de memórias coloniais* as a legacy of the father, unwittingly evoking Ana de Castro Osório's appeal to fathers to be feminist (1905: 22–24). The message may not sound as scandalously conservative if one considers that the levels of literacy in Portugal and of women in particular have been among the lowest in Europe. That was the case at the end of the nineteenth century, as further detailed in Chapter 1, and continued to be case as of

2015 ("European Countries by Literacy Rate"). The high rate of illiteracy in the small number of colonial settlers until the 1950s and 1960s must thus be taken into account when noting the lack of schools and of concern with education in the former colonies.[18] One cannot continue to ignore or take for granted the fact that only a small elite could read and write, this applying even more to women than men. Thus, it is significant that a number of women who began to write prose in the mid 1930s wrote about the exploitation and dehumanization of African men and women by a colonial "patrão" or boss. The threat that women writing presented to the regime is magnified by the closure in 1947 by Salazar's regime of the Conselho Nacional das Mulheres Portuguesas, the national chapter of the International Council of Women, following a week-long exhibition of books authored by women organized by its president, journalist Maria Lamas (1893–1983). Although not associated with that organization, the woman who by then was most connected with writing about the empire, journalist Maria Archer (1899–1982), had her novel *Casa sem pão* (1946—*House without Bread*) apprehended by the political police. Since the second half of the 1930s women writers had become increasingly dangerous, or at least uncomfortable, to the stability of Salazar's regime. Female literacy, along with the timid but growing visibility of women in higher education and as professionals, was obviously politically alarming.

After being founded by medical doctor Adelaide Cabete (1867–1935) in 1914, the Conselho Nacional das Mulheres Portuguesas aimed to intervene in the high rate of illiteracy, which had prevented the development of feminism (Célia Costa 2007: 100). An article appearing in 1915 in the fourth issue of its official bulletin calls illiteracy a "social cancer" affecting the whole of society and calls on readers to encourage their friends and anyone they know to become literate, that encouragement constituting a "true" act of charity and of feminism ("Analfabetismo feminino" 1915: 43–44). It is thus important to duly note that the Conselho's congresses of 1924 and 1928 brought together in their titles "feminism and education"—"Congresso feminista e da educação." The interdependency of the two is commemorated in 1924 by Teresa Leitão de Barros, a member of the Council, in the ambitious dissertation, *Escritoras de Portugal: Génio feminino revelado na literatura portuguesa* (*Women Writers of Portugal: Feminine Genious Revealed in Portuguese Literature*), covering women writers from the sixteenth century until the early 1920s. In addition, Maria Lamas organized major exhibits of women artists first in 1930 and subsequently in 1947, when she presided over the organization.

The threat that widespread female literacy represented to Salazar's future regime was already forecast by the negative media reception received by the

second Congresso Feminista e da Educação, held in June 1928. According to lawyer, Elina Guimarães, a member of the Portuguese Council of Women, the congress was criticized as a dangerous "innovation" (2002: 21). The possibility that women could refuse to abide by their traditional roles at home if a majority were to become literate and subsequently educated was barred by the regime's failure to open enough public schools, which made it impossible for children to even complete the mandatory (but unenforced) three-year minimum of schooling.[19] By the second half of the 1940s the fascist-inspired Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina (Portuguese Feminine Youth) and the Obra das Mães para a Educação Nacional (Mothers' Taskforce for National Education) were already well on their way to replacing the Conselho Nacional das Mulheres Portuguesas.[20] The Conselho Nacional das Mulheres Portuguesas was banned by Salazar's regime shortly after it sponsored, in January 1947, an ambitious and reportedly well-attended exhibit of books written by national and international women, and after its president, journalist Maria Lamas, refused to step down (Tavares 2010: 45). Ousting the feminist organization that had—with an ever-growing membership across different sections of society and in different regions, including rural areas—worked for the eradication of female illiteracy in Portugal since 1914, was therefore tantamount to proscribing advanced female literacy and education.

The outcome of such a drastic measure, along with the disciplining of Maria Lamas, who was fired from the newspaper where she had worked since 1929, has important consequences for the conceptualization of "women" in connection with writing the African empire. The substantial work of ethnographic journalism *As mulheres do meu país* (The Women of My Country), published originally in separate essays between 1948 and 1950 and subsequently in two volumes, ostensibly contradicts the fascist-colonialist idea of a transcontinental Portugal (Lamas 2003). It appears that the author was unable to raise enough money to travel to any of the colonies to investigate and report on the condition of women there.[21] Yet for Lamas, as well as for the women whom she makes visible not only by word but by photographic image tending the land and taking on the chores of men who had emigrated, "meu país" or "my country" is nowhere else than within Portugal's continental borders and archipelagos of Madeira and Azores.[22] To counteract that idea, which seems to have been the dominant one, select members of the fascist youth group, Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina, were taken on a seventy-day cruise in Africa. The trip included visits to the major Portuguese African colonies and also to the Belgian Congo, Rhodesia and South Africa. Maria Joana Mendes Leal, the editor of the group's newsletter *Menina e moça* (*Girl and Young Lady*), was unequivocal as to the teaching objective of the cruise: "aquilo que as nossas raparigas viram e aprenderam,

hão-de transmiti-lo, e quem sabe se não poderá influir no destino dos seus noivos, e amanhã dos seus filhos, traçando-lhes rumo à África?!" (23—"what our girls saw and learned they will pass on, and who knows if it might not influence the future of their fiancés, and tomorrow that of their children, showing them the way to Africa?!"). Such teaching would obviously include the alleged contrasts in race relations between the territories administered by Portugal and those administered by other European empires. The author makes a point of giving examples of instances in which the Portuguese girls communed with local African girls and boys; plenty of photos model for girl readers the image that they should emulate as mothers of the multicontinental, multiracial nation, represented by the *pretinhos* or "blackies" (in Neves and Calado 2001: 70). For women as ideologically dissimilar as were Maria Archer and Maria da Graça Freire (1918–1993), to contradict that harmonious version of race relations not only in the African colonies but also in the metropole took, then, some courage—and in Freire's case obviously also the regime's support. That is part of the longer story that the present book aims to tell in an attempt to construct the memory of a past that is systematically occluded by the gender politics that continue to dominate the ways in which Portuguese colonialism in Africa is evoked—or, rather, silenced in name of the colonial father.

Notes

1 António de Oliveira Salazar (1889–1970) was head of the dictatorial, corporatist Estado Novo between 1933 and 1968, when he was replaced by Marcello Caetano (1906–1980) after suffering a stroke. Caetano, a professor of law and rector of the University of Lisbon, continued the war in Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique until he was deposed by the military coup d'état that restored democracy on April 25, 1974.

2 The term *retornados* was introduced by the government organization created in September 1975 to help repatriates, Instituto de Apoio ao Retorno de Nacionais ("Criação do IARN"). Typical narratives by and about the group treat it as being composed of white Portuguese. Aida Gomes's *Os pretos de Pousaflores* (2011—*The Blacks from Pousaflores*) offers a very different picture as does the journalism, for example, of Sarah Adamopoulos (2012: 51). See also Lubkemann (2003, especially 90–92).

3 I have here in mind criticisms of the excess of individual memory in its characteristic affective and personal registers in contrast to the lack of collective, historical memory (e.g. Jerónimo 2016: 82–83).

4 My early research into the topic of women and colonialism became the basis of a number of talks and publications (e.g. Ferreira 1996a, 1996b, 2002a and 2002b).

5 Throughout this book I use "post-colonial" in a chronological sense, to refer to the period after empire or the "post-empire." By "postcolonial," I refer to

an epistemology or mode of thinking that is fundamentally anti-colonial and not limited to the period after the formal end of colonialism.

6 See António Ribeiro and Margarida Ribeiro 2004; Margarida Ribeiro 2007; Branco 2015; Espírito Santo 2003 and 2008; and Pessoa 2009.

7 The Commission was founded in 1986 and was dissolved in 2002. See Chapter 5 for more information regarding this period.

8 The volume includes essays on texts and archival documents referring to the condition of women, their marginal status and acts of resistance, in all major areas of the Portuguese empire from the sixteenth century to the twentieth. A Portuguese version of the same volume but with a different title and organization also appeared in 2008. See Sarmento 2008a and 2008b.

9 From the publication of Helen Callaway's *Gender, Culture an Empire*, 1987, until the mid-2000s there was an explosion of work on the topic. See, for example, Mills 1991; Strobel 1991; Chauduri and Strobel 1992; Lewis 1996; Clancy-Smith and Gouda 1998; Wildenthal 2001; Levine 2004; Huggon 2004. More recently, see Lorcin 2011; Kadish 2012; and Regan 2013.

10 See Roque 2003 for an interesting discussion of Portuguese imperial vulnerability in Moxico, Angola, between 1894 and 1905.

11 See Ferreira 1996b, "Homebound," for an analysis of "women" in Salazar's regime inspired by the work of Belo et al. 1987.

12 See Sapega 2008a for a study of how literature and the visual arts resisted the culture of consensus promoted by Salazar's regime.

13 This is how Richard Pattee describes the situation in English and French African colonies in contrast to what he witnessed in Angola, where the Portuguese were just then arriving with the intention of colonizing (1959: 99). Considering that Pattee's book was published in 1959 under the imprint of Agência-Geral do Ultramar, one can safely assume its propagandistic purpose.

14 For the important notion of imperializing the nation, see especially Pinto and Jerónimo 2015 on the legacies of empire in post-imperial Portugal.

15 In 1900, 64 percent of males and 82 percent of females in Portugal were illiterate ("Portugal Taxas de analfabetismo").

16 I owe this insight to Jane Marcus, who suggests that writers like Virginia Woolf, Nancy Cunard and Djuana Barnes, among others, call for the end of empire just as they witness the rise of fascism and totalitarianism in Europe (2004, especially 34–37).

17 Briefly, Lusotropicalism is the narrative appropriated after World War II by Salazar's government from Brazilian sociologist, Gilberto Freyre (1900–1997), about the special aptitude of the Portuguese to mix with other races and cultures thus creating multiracial, multicultural "Luso"-based societies. See Castelo 1998 and 2013 for further details.

18 On the topic of colonial education in Mozambique, for example, Errante 1994 and Jerónimo (2015b: 101–06) do not mention the high rates of illiteracy in Portugal, as if illiteracy in the colony were unrelated to that of the metropole.

19 It was not until 1960 that a fourth year of mandatory primary school for girls was instituted, but it was not well publicized among the population (Adão and Remédios 2009: 6–9).

20 See Pimentel 2001 and 2011 for a history of the feminine organizations of Salazar's Estado Novo (New State).

21 Biographical information on Maria da Lamas is based on Fiadeiro 2003.

22 See Ferreira 2012 for information on Lamas as well as on her works, including *As mulheres do meu país*. At the end of the latter, the author refers to the "acção colonizadora" (470—"colonizing action") that women have in the colonies, an often repeated, commonplace idea since the 1930s.

CHAPTER ONE

Women's Education, Nation and Late Empire

Between March 1912 and January 1913, while studying Law at the University of Coimbra, António de Oliveira Salazar (1889–1970) published, under the pseudonym Alves da Silva, a series of short articles titled "Cartas a uma mãe" ("Letters to a mother").[1] They appeared in the newspaper *O Imparcial*, directed by the young priest, Manuel Gonçalves Cerejeira (1888–1997), who would go on to serve as Cardinal-Patriarch of Lisbon throughout the long tenure of Salazar's dictatorship.[2] Even if addressing the mother as "Sua Excelência," the articles are couched in a personal, direct style, appropriate for the epistolary genre as a form of moralistic prose. They call for mothers to educate their children at home following a traditional model opposed to what Salazar characterizes as English-style mass education imparted in public schools (1912–1913: 4). The author's argument pits the familiarity and warmth of education at home—the lack of which he admits affected him (2)—against the impersonal, uniform and onerous "intellectual" instruction that children receive in schools (14). For the future political leader, the country's regeneration would depend first of all on moral reform through church and family (5–6). Contrary to instruction, he argues, education forms artistic sensibility and the heart for which women are said to be naturally inclined; hence, being considered the ideal educators at home in the context of family life (18–21).

Published little more than two years after the military coup that deposed the monarchy and instituted the First Republic on October 5, 1910, Salazar's "Cartas a uma mãe" suggest his uneasiness with the nineteenth-century liberal ideal of public instruction being championed by the new republican government. His exhortation to women as mothers corrects the often-interchangeable use of "education" and "instruction" at the time, emphasizing the more general and morally formative character of "education" as opposed to the more particular one of "instruction."[3] Confronting the plea by progressive thinkers for public secondary schools for girls, or "liceus," the first of which had finally opened in 1906, he holds

up the traditional model of the mother as educator at home, imparting basic instruction as well as moral and religious values.[4] It is as though Salazar writes against the important milestones that had been achieved by feminists with republican support, possibly even more alarmed by their list of demands yet to be fulfilled, suffrage among them.[5] In 1908 feminists had found the Liga Republicana das Mulheres Portuguesas (Republican League of Portuguese Women); in 1910, they won the approval for the law of divorce and for new family laws giving women equal rights to men; and, by 1911, among several other educational and political institutions, they had created the Associação de Propaganda Feminista (Association of Feminist Propaganda) and a woman had cast a vote for the Constituent Assembly (Vicente 2010).[6] She was Carolina Beatriz Ângelo (1871–1911), a medical doctor and a widow who then voted in the general election, taking advantage of the lack of gender specification in the republican electoral law, which called for "'citizens over the age of twenty-one who can read and write and are heads of the family'" (qtd. Virgínia Ferreira 2011: 180).[7] In view of that much publicized scandal, one can assume that the future dictator would address women as mothers in order to reassert that women's place is in the home and thereby chastise the feminists who were supposedly enabled by the new republic.

Salazar was surely not alone in his reaction to the threat that was posed by an elite of educated activist women to the established social order. Carlos de Melo, for example, had published *O escândalo do feminismo* (*The Scandal of Feminism*) first in article and subsequently in book form in 1910 (qtd. Esteves 2008a: 7n8).[8] Among several other anti-feminist tracts that refer to women's education, one can cite two very different booklets that appeared in 1912. One of them was authored by Abílio Barreiro, speaking in the name of Darwinist scientific progress, *O feminismo (principalmente do ponto de vista do ensino secundário)* (2012—*Feminism [Especially from the Perspective of Secondary Education]*); the other was by (Monsignor) Abúndio da Silva, *Feminismo e acção feminina (cartas a uma senhora)* (1912—*Feminism and Feminine Action [Letters to a Lady]*). In both cases and despite the difference in arguments adduced by the scientist and the clergyman, the purpose seems to be the same as Salazar's in "Cartas a uma mãe": to bring back home, both metaphorically and literally, the very few women who had ventured into the public sphere, or aimed to do so by seeking advanced university degrees; by beginning to work in traditionally male professions; and by presenting to the government a series of alterations in civil law, including the (albeit limited) right to vote.

Salazar's early ideas on women and education in relation to the family and, hence, the regeneration of the greater family-nation, echo a host

of commonplace ideas inherited from Jean-Jacques Rousseau and liberal thinkers, and publicized by nineteenth-century Portuguese writers and intellectuals of varied and sometimes opposing political affinities; a number of women were among them. The purpose of this chapter is to call attention to how insistently their arguments on women's education were connected to broader national concerns with Portuguese imperial weakness, related first to the independence of Brazil and then to Portugal's vulnerable position in the European competition for the so-called Dark Continent. In 1935, historian of diplomacy Eduardo Brazão attributed that vulnerability to Portugal's consistently wrong political strategy in the African continent throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. Yet he ignores the shameful lack of literacy that undermined the national community on the African continent in the eyes of European competitors. The following identifies three main periods in that frame of reference, linking women and education to the fate of nineteenth-century Portugal and its African empire—the "third empire," between 1825 and 1975, following William Gervase Clarence-Smith's chronology (1985) and in view of the fact that the "second" was Brazil and the "first" was in Asia.

The first period corresponds to the introduction of liberalism in Portugal and is related to the short- and long-term effects of the independence of Brazil, in 1822, followed by the political, economic and social crisis resulting from civil wars between absolutists and liberals in the period 1824–1836. The Romantic writer, poet, dramatist and liberal activist Almeida Garrett (1799–1854) defines this first moment: he introduces the concept of national education as well as the role that women should play in it as mother-educators of the nation.

The second period when the issue of women's education is discussed in connection with the deplorable level of civilization of the country, hence affecting its status as a European empire, emerged around 1870 when a group of former Coimbra University students boldly set out to modernize Portuguese culture. Known as the Generation of 1870 (Coimbra Generation), the group includes, among many others, poet and philosopher Antero de Quental (1842–1891), writer Eça de Queiroz (1845–1900) and historian Joaquim Pedro de Oliveira Martins (1845–1894). They responded passionately to the economic, political and social crisis that followed the successive liberal governments of the constitutional monarchy that were in place between 1851 and 1868. In 1859, when he was only seventeen, Antero de Quental published a pamphlet promoting women's education, "Educação das mulheres," which he then republished in 1894 (Quental 1982). He insists on the Romantic idea of emancipating the weak and on the moral superiority of women as "makers of men," as did his peers, variously inspired by Jules Michelet,

August Comte and Pierre-Joseph Proudhon among others. Speaking in the name of progress and regeneration, that same basic position as regards women's education for the benefit of the fatherland was also held in the following decades by two important public figures, both Catholic, and both supporters of the liberal monarchy: Maria Amália Carvalho (1847–1921), the first Portuguese woman to gain the esteem of her (male) contemporaries as a professional writer; and enlightened aristocrat, Dom António da Costa (1824–1892), Portugal's first Minister of Education.

The third period when the topic of women's education comes up again with relative insistence ensues from the threat of Portugal being debunked from "the empire of civilization." The phrase refers to Bret Bowen's argument that when the word "civilization" began to be used in French, English and German, Spain and Portugal were considered to be in decline as imperial powers due to the loss of their colonial territories in Latin America. Hence, the word or ideal conveyed by "civilization" did not apply to them (Bowen 24). Furthermore, the new criteria of effective occupation set forth in the Conference of Berlin (1884–1885) was not obeyed by Portugal. Following the traditional belief in the right to an overseas territory claimed first, before other European countries, Portugal went on with its military campaigns in territories between Angola and Mozambique roughly corresponding to today's Zambia, Zimbabwe and part of Malawi. On behalf of the government of Great Britain, Lord Salisbury presented Portugal with an ultimatum on January 11, 1890 for the removal of its troops from the territories in question (Pimenta 2010: 13–32; Newitt 2009: 189–93; and Teixeira 2013a). The British Ultimatum represented a national humiliation, setting in motion the revolutionary process that led to the regicide in 1908 and the subsequent overthrow of the liberal monarchy in October of 1910 (Teixeira 2013b: 88–89).

Portugal became thus one of the first European republics, but it left much to be desired in fulfilling the standards of European civilization due to widespread illiteracy: by 1890, 68 percent of men and 84 percent of women aged ten or older were still illiterate (Candeias et al. 2007: 105). Hence, in this period, the urgency of saving the empire and regenerating the honor of the country is repeatedly adduced as the nationalist reason to educate women. Connected to ideas of modernization and progress, the notion of regeneration is in this context mobilized by different feminisms at the turn of the century to address the morally depressed nation and, in the case of Portugal, save the empire and the country itself in face of impending loss (e.g. Pestana 1900; Carvalho 1903; Osório 1905).[9]

Liberalism, Civilization and the Education of Women: Excluding Women from Politics

It is not by chance that in "Cartas a uma mãe" Salazar authorizes his position by invoking the enlightened writer, intellectual and liberal politician, Almeida Garrett (1799–1854). His works emblematize the Romantic concept of nation along with the gender divide that inheres to the separation of private and public spheres. While theoretically enclosed in the private sphere at home in their role as mothers, women are thought to have a direct influence on the man's public world of business, politics and wars. The debate on women's education circles around this structural contradiction, instituted with liberalism after the ideas of philosopher and political theorist, John Locke. In his *Two Treatises on Government* (1690), he argues for the separation of family and state to replace the older common principle of kinship. This separation would theoretically exclude and guard women from politics, economics and production by limiting them to the private or civil sphere of family affairs, reproduction and affects (Nicholson 1986: 133–66). Almeida Garrett's works testify to the cultural grounding of this form of liberalist thinking and its effects on the issue of women's education in Portugal. It holds sway in the so-called long nineteenth century and beyond, to form and inform the future fascist model of the family-nation. Although liberalism loses ground toward the end of the century and is eventually overthrown by the republican revolutionary government, the ideology of the separate spheres is only relatively challenged due, at least in part, to the predominance of maternalist arguments by end-of-the-century republican feminists. As was the case elsewhere, they "exalted women's capacity to mother and extended to society the values of care, nurturance and morality" (Koven and Michel 1993: 32). Maria Irene Vaquinhas (1997) confirms this line of thinking in her summation of the paradoxically "miserable and glorious" condition of women throughout nineteenth-century Portugal. By evoking the importance of motherhood, feminist demands were endowed with social value and distinction within the cultural bounds of Portuguese society (33).

The statement quoted by Salazar in his "Cartas a uma mãe," "'Quanto a mim, não pode haver boa educação se não for eminentemente nacional'" (1912–1913: 4—"'As far as I'm concerned, no education can be good if it is not eminently national'"), appears in Almeida Garrett's treatise, *Da educação. Livro primeiro—educação doméstica ou paternal* (*On Education: First Book—Domestic or Paternal Education*). It is the first and only volume of what had originally been planned as a three-volume work on national education. It was first published by Sustenance and Stretch in London in 1829, and was re-edited in 1867, 1883

and 1904.[10] Written in epistolary form, the text is addressed to "uma senhora ilustre encarregada da instituição de uma jovem princeza" ("an illustrious lady charged with the upbringing of a noble princess") (Garrett 1829: i). The author does not, however, aim to limit the audience or the objective of the book to the education of the aristocracy (Machado 2004: 72–74). He connects the education of a princess with that of the Portuguese people in general, affirming that the future sovereignty of the nation depends on it. For him, and in view of the particular "circumstances" in which Portugal was at the time, education is "o maior e mais importante negócio da [...] patria" (Garrett 1829: ii—"the biggest and most important business of [...] the fatherland." For this reason, he entrusts both parents with the responsibility of initially teaching their children at home. Subsequently, intellectual and spiritual education would be tailored to fit "as diferenças do sexo e da posição social e futuros destinos do educando" (xiv–xv—"differences of sex and social position and future lives of the educated"). Garrett specifies that girls should continue to be educated at home by mothers. Independently of class or of economic means, mothers must teach their daughters, while boys should attend school in preparation for the demands of public life (xx). Following Rousseau, who draws from the Athenian model of education based on separate spheres, the author does not seem to go beyond what the eighteenth-century pedagogue Luís de Verney had proposed in *O verdadeiro método de estudar. Elogio e merecimento das mulheres* (*The True Study Method: Praise and Worthiness of Women*) (in Canaviera 1999: 88–91).

Garrett's suggestion that women should be educated for and remain strictly in the domestic sphere, a view that informs his culminating work as a novelist, *Viagens na minha terra* (1846—*Travels in my Homeland*), is not at odds with the liberal ideology that he promoted and for which he bore arms.[11] Exiled in France and England during the periodic reinstatements of the absolutist monarchy in Portugal in 1823, 1825 and 1828, he looks at his countrymen as an enlightened foreigner, wishing to halt the widespread illiteracy that would deter the Portuguese from the rational path of civilization and progress connected to liberalism. While that means defending the idea that all men and women have a right to be free and to have access to education, it also means excluding women from politics and the public sphere and, in effect, educating them according to and in support of such an exclusion. The author must have been well aware of the implications of his position at a time when, in France and England, women were beginning to claim equality on the basis of a common humanity—and suffice it is to evoke here Olympe de Gouges's *Declaration of the Rights of Women* (1791) and Mary Wollestonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* (1792). He offers, in Letter IX, a retort to feminist aspirations that was typical of

liberal thinking and would be echoed by others: "Não há certamente para o bello-sexo outra moral diferente da nossa: deu-lhe a natureza os mesmos direitos, impoz-lhe as mesmas obrigações" (Garrett 1829: 190—"Surely there is not for the beau-sex a morality that is different from our own: nature gave it [the *beau sexe*] the same rights while imposing the same obligations"). Whatever the different ways may be, the statement points to Ann Towns's incisive argument about the formation of the constitutional liberal state, which was interconnected with the idea of "European civilization" and to the construction of women as a separate ontological category. Some states were thought to be more "civilized" than others in a hierarchy determined in part by the exclusion of women from public and state matters (Towns 2010: 56–57; 79; 91).

The structural, constitutive relation between the nascent liberal nation-state, the criteria of civilization and the construction of national womanhood away from politics appears clearly in one of Garrett's earlier works, *O toucador*: *Periódico sem política, dedicado às senhoras portuguesas* (1822—*The Dressing Table*: *Periodical without Politics*, *Dedicated to Portuguese Ladies*). Seven issues were published by the Liberal Press between February and March 1822, a period during which the Liberal Constitutional Charter was drafted, and the prospective of liberalism in Portugal was high, inspired by the victory of liberalism in Spain in January of that year. Written entirely by Garrett himself in the guise of several contributors, it is the first periodical that aimed to serve "exclusivamente os interesses, e instrução do bello-sexo" (Garrett 1822: 3—"exclusively the interests, and instruction of the *beau sexe*"). The use of "instruction" here and of "education" in his treatise of 1829 calls attention to the indistinct use of the two terms to refer to the same concept, a problem that novelist and historian Alexandre Herculano (1810–1877) would go on to criticize in an article of 1939 (Torgal 1998: 609). It appears that the news, comments and brief narratives included in the sections of *O toucador* covering the topics of "Fashion," "Love," "Dance," "Theater," "Outings" and "Varieties," are considered legitimate areas of feminine instruction. They flaunt the non-political nature of Garrett's publication and of the "instruction" for ladies contained therein. This can of course be a performative gesture, distancing women from the public world of politics, and thus bringing them and the nation into a higher order in the hierarchy of civilization. Yet the consistently short, superficial texts, the personal and intimate language and the witty, playful style contradict just how much Garrett believes in the utility or applicability of the advice he offers to instill European civilization in Portuguese womanhood.

Curiously, in issue VII of *O toucador*, dated March 1822, the colonizing implication of Paris fashion is contradicted by a new model of fashion

"seen" in Lisbon: the use of Brazilian Indian plumes by "senhoras coloniais" (5—"colonial ladies") who refer to them as "ornamentos [adornments] *à la independent*." It would seem that Garrett is not only calling out for the independence of Brazil, which would indeed become independent a few months later, on September 7, 1822 (although not recognized as such by Portugal until 1825), but vaguely suggesting a Brazilian model for women's emancipation. This note, along with comments dispersed throughout other issues alluding in an equally duplicitous manner to the "the rights of the *beau sexe*," suggests that Garrett was speaking in view of and possibly to an audience of liberal readers well aware of the greater political, international context in which feminist claims were emerging. In other words, as much as the impetus to civilize his country in the ways of liberalism dictated that he position Portuguese women as far away from the polis as possible, the *fashion* of the times—to use Garrett's language—also imposed an awareness of movements of emancipation, the Brazilian native not being so distant from the Portuguese one in regard to the oppression of absolutist masters.[12] Still, in a letter to his own daughter written thirty-two years later, in 1854, shortly before he died, Garrett would go on to make disparaging references to the women who were by then beginning to plea for educational and professional opportunities alongside men. He considers women's demands for equality symptomatic of a decadent society where "civilization has degenerated" (Garrett, *Da educação*, 1867 edn: 269).[13]

Although Garrett is likely to be referring to a much broader context, in Portugal the right of women to receive secondary education had its first woman defender in Antónia Gertrudes Pusich (1805–1883), a Cape Verdean creole educated by her Italian father, who was an admiral. Among other serial publications dedicated to social causes, between 1849 and 1851, she directed *A Assembleia Literária* (*The Literary Assembly*), where the issue frequently surfaced. In an 1850 editorial dedicated to King Fernando, Gertrudes Pusich calls attention to the fact that throughout the ages women have been denied intellectual freedom and yet have the same "direitos sagrados" ("sacred rights"). She goes on to plead for the education of women, considering them the educators of the human species and hence those who form men's hearts and continue to influence them (qtd. Silva and Vicente 1991: 32–33). Beyond Garrett, with whose liberalist affiliation she probably disagreed since she was a stern monarchist, it appears that Pusich's thinking is the product of the enormous influence that a French treatise on women's education had all over Europe and the Americas. Published in France in 1834 by Louis-Aimé Martin, the appearance of *Éducation des mères de famille, ou de la civilization du genre humain par des femmes* in multiple editions and its translation into several languages throughout the nineteenth century

speaks to his appeal (Rogers 2005). Garrett had published his own treatise on women's education in London five years before Louis-Aimé Martin published his in France. The fact that their ideas resonate with each other and that Gertrudes Pusich writes within the same discourse is explained by the strong and enduring influence of Rousseau's thinking on the topic of women's education. Indeed, Martin pays tribute to Rousseau's *Émile* (Popiel 2008: 166). One of his most synthetic assertions became a commonplace regarding the education of women in the nineteenth century: "On the maternal bosom the mind of nations reposes; their manners, prejudices, and virtues,—in a word, the civilization of the human race all depends upon maternal influence" (Martin 1860: 19). Not incidentally, Antero de Quental's tract on women's education, first published in 1859 and then again in 1894, coincides with Martin's main argument.

The Uneducated Bourgeois Woman as Symptom of National Decadence

The lack of education of Portuguese women was a central concern to the group of intellectuals who emerged around 1870 to passionately denounce the retrograde and corrupt forces that, from their perspective, kept Portugal in a state of economic, political and cultural penury. One of their known sources, utopian socialist Charles Fourier, argued that the condition of women was an indicator of a society's level of civilization, a belief that other influential thinkers, such as Marx and Engels, also shared (Towns 2010: 76–77). At the center of the pessimistic assessment of Portuguese society was the indictment of a lack of civilization vis-à-vis developed European countries, of which women's education—or lack thereof—was a telling symptom. More broadly, concern with the civilizational decline of Portugal in part announced the greater, transnational trend of fin-de-siècle decrying the decadence of Western civilization and the decline of European nations (Herman 1997).

Eça de Queiroz represented the issue of women's education in a rather paradigmatic way with respect to the views of his contemporaries regardless of political affinity. His first incursion into the topic appears in "Estudo social de Portugal em 1871" (1946a—"Social Study of Portugal in 1871"), which appeared originally as the Prologue of *As farpas* (*The Spears*), a periodical of political, social and cultural critique published by Ramalho Ortigão (1836–1915), initially with his collaboration. Eça—as he is known in Portuguese literary culture—asserts that, in a country plagued with loss of intelligence and sense of morality (11), where men have lost "virilidade de carácter" and "individualidade de pensamento" (35), virtuous and dignified

women are still the majority in Portuguese society. "[E]las valem muito mais do que nós" (36—"[T]hey are much worthier than we are")—he concludes. Yet the reader is left to wonder where are the "virtuous women" in the "philosophy of laughter" that the author proposes as an antidote the gloomy outlook for Portuguese society: "uma nação talhada para a ditadura—ou para a conquista" (38—"a nation cut out for dictatorship—or for conquest"). In subsequent essays published in *As farpas*, Eça clearly has no hope for the future of Portugal due to the lack of education of women and, by extension, of everyone else.

In "As meninas da geração nova em Lisboa e a educação contemporânea" (1946b—"The girls of the new generation in Lisbon and contemporary education"), the writer famously declares, "Diz-me a mãe que tiveste—dir-te-ei o futuro que terás" (105—"Tell me the mother you had—I will tell you the destiny you will have." Eça raises the model of English education, a progressive, spiritually and physically enabling education, against what Portuguese girls are taught at home, at church, through literature or the performing arts, namely, that their only goal in life should be to seduce and marry rich. Being limited to "the world of affects" and tempted in an increasingly materialistic society to partake of luxuries and pleasures without gainful work, women lack the strength to resist the corruption of bourgeois society at large. The idle bourgeois woman becomes thus, for Eça and like-minded Portuguese intellectuals, a sign of the country's decadence rather than a sign of man's status and power, as was the case in England and other economically powerful countries that had had an industrial revolution (Bryant 1979: 29).

In another article published in 1872, "O problema do adultério" ("The problem of adultery"), Eça blames women's faulty education for the adultery that is dissolving the family. He is, however, quick to point out that this does not apply to women of the working classes. Considering that "as mulheres mais ocupadas são as mais virtuosas" (Queiroz 1946c: 209—"the busiest women are the most virtuous"), he proposes not education per se, but that women focus on marriage and family with consequent all-demanding occupations (Queiroz 1946c: 212).[14] For the author, women need to be virtuous so as to put an end to the immorality of Portuguese men, whose likewise faulty education teaches them to be "lions" whose worth is measured by the number of women—primarily married women—they are able to seduce (215). The novelist would go on to study the immoral consequences for women, but also for men, of traditional Portuguese education encouraging women's idleness in his scandalous naturalist novels *O crime de Padre Amaro* (1875—*The Crime of Father Amaro* [2003]) and *O primo Basílio* (1878—*Cousin Bazilio* [2003]).

According to historian Joel Serrão, the fact that the central female characters in those novels are openly eroticized signals that a "revolution" was on its way. It was to make its appearance at the end of the century in the "contrapunctual" figures of women such as Guiomar Torresão, Angelina Vidal and Ana de Castro Osório, who represented themselves publicly as professional writers and publicists of women's emancipation (Serrão 1986: 346). However inspired, the association of the sexualized female characters of Eça de Queiroz with the emergence of different feminist expressions does not account for the symbolic punishment of women who answer to their sexual desires, and thereby supposedly perpetuate the immoral desires of men. The provincial, religious Amélia (*Padre Amaro*) and the bourgeois, Bovary-like Luísa (*Primo Basílio*) are crushed to the point of death as sexually marked women who, due to ignorance, idleness and a host of enabling environmental factors, transgress the social and moral injunctions that define feminine virtue within the positivist terms of family, work, nation and historical progress. They are moralistic illustrations of the impending national doom that ever since Romanticism liberal writers have blamed on women who are left to the world of affects and fantasies outside of a father-master's control.[15] In addition, they are figures of the abjection befalling the Portuguese in general and women in particular in regard to the criteria of civilization at a time when England, France and Germany were strong, industrialized countries embarking on the new European imperialism on the so-called Dark Continent (Bowden 2009: 24).

Latent in Eça's and, more broadly, his generation's pessimistic assessment of Portuguese society in the 1870s is ostensibly the European discourse of degeneration contextualized, as happens in other countries, within local political, social and cultural concerns. As Daniel Pick demonstrates in *Faces of Degeneration: A European Disorder* (1993), the rise in each different national context of an organicist, biologist notion of degeneration was tied to the identification of "internal" others who disrupted a belief in the ideal of a rational, consensual community moving forth toward political, economic and social progress. *Estrangeirados*, or foreignized, Almeida Garret and later Eça de Queiroz construct those others as female natives, lacking European education and civilization and, hence, being unproductive, fantasy-prone and at least potentially sexually immoral. The construct is tilted particularly against feminists in *A mulher em Portugal: Cartas d'um estrangeiro* (1908—*Women in Portugal: Letters by a Foreigner*), by José Agostinho (1866–1938) writing under the pseudonym Victor Moigénie.

According to Anne McClintock, the discourse of degeneration racialized women, the lower classes and those thought to instill social upheaval in the metropolis. While helping create an atmosphere of social crisis,

that discourse attempted to control internal others while simultaneoulsy domesticating those in the colonies (1995: 35–56). A notable example of how gender and race were mobilized to that double end is found in the story of Preta Fernanda, born in Cape Verde in 1859 as Andresa do Nascimento, a famous courtesan of fin-de-siècle Lisbon whose supposed memoirs were published in 1912 by journalists A. Tota and F. Machado. Nascimento was paid to be the model of the black mother at the feet of Marquis Sá da Bandeira in a 1888 statue celebrating the latter's abolition of slavery (Margarida David Cardoso 2017).

The sociopolitical reintegration and the spiritual cohesion of the less-than-virile, demoralized national community would seem to depend upon the nationalist colonization and sociosexual domestication of the female native through the ideology of (positivist) motherhood. Cast in the language of Christianity within the "purity movement," the scenario was no different in English imperialist culture, where women-mothers were hailed to save the nation from moral decay (Richardson 2000: 235–36).

In setting up a feminine figure of moral debauchery as a symptom that Portugal was in trouble as a European country, Eça, deliberately or not, ignores feminist expressions that were becoming visible especially in the periodical press (Lopes 2005; Esteves 2018). An important periodical despite its short-lived existence is the feminist *Voz feminina: Jornal semanal, científico, literario e noticioso* (*Feminine Voice: Scientific, Literary and Current Events Weekly Newspaper*). It was published in Lisbon between January 1868 and June 1869 under the direction of Francisca Wood; and included texts signed by women calling for the rights of women to full social and political emancipation.[16] To ignore this editorial phenomenon is not simply to put feminism under erasure but to assume an enlightened, rational feminist subject unthinkable in Portuguese culture at the time. Her absence in the reformist discourse of nation around the 1870s and 1880s makes it possible to couch the role of the savvy and modest wife-mother in the language of national salvation. By contrast, the ignorant and idle bourgeois woman given to love and luxury becomes the figure of national decadence: the otherness of history, of civilization, and of positivist reason assailing the country. Such a pedagogical rhetorical strategy, as will be seen, is at the base of subsequent women-centered discourses emerging in response to the growing threat to Portugal's position as a sovereign nation in the European competition for the African empire.

The first writer to devote a considerable part of her work to condemning the traditional education of women and proposing its reform for the good of the nation is Maria Amália Vaz de Carvalho (1874–1921). She is the only woman writer from the nineteenth century to have become a household

name associated with conservative feminine behavior well into the later part of the twentieth century. Although a Catholic and a political conservative defending the constitutional monarchy and consistently making a case for national education (against any foreign model of education), her criticism of women and of Portuguese society overall resonates with that of Eça de Queiroz and his peers (Prevedello 2016). She however represents herself as a simple, non-pretentious and hard-working writer searching for truth; that is, she performs the dominant view of femininity that the men of the Coimbra Generation expected and defended (Edfelt 2006: 38). They were, in fact, patrons of her literary salon in Lisbon along with older writers from the romantic generation, for example, Camilo Castelo Branco and Ramalho Ortigão, the editor of the monthly chronicles mentioned earlier, *As farpas* (Lopes 2005: 159—*The Spikes*).

In 1877, Ortigão had published a scathing article, or *farpa*, on women's education criticizing the poor literary quality of women's writing, namely that of feminist Guiomar Torresão (1844–1898). That led him to denounce the exclusively literary education that women received in secondary schools, and to suggest that they would be better off learning how to cook and do housework (Ortigão [1877] 1943). Nonetheless, thirteen years later he wrote an encomiastic Prologue to Maria Amália Vaz de Carvalho's book *Crónicas de Valentina* (1890—*Valentina's Chronicles*). His opinion of her work not only contrasts sharply with his earlier position on women writers but, importantly, it disapproves of Oliveira Martins's virulent reaction to her earlier book, *Cartas a Luiza*, published in 1888. Considering the title of Oliveira Martins's article "A educação da mulher" (1924), it is likely that his overreaction to Maria Amália's book is prompted by the motion introducing secondary public schools for girls by the President of the Council of Ministers, José Luciano de Castro, that was finally passed in 1888. Citing Michelet's idea that women are sick, Martins feels justified to state the "grosseria" ("indelicacy") that in a world devoid of religious devotion doctors are indispensable to women—as are fathers, husbands and sons (1924: 147–48).[17] Ramalho Ortigão's appraisal of Maria Amália's writing could not be any more different in tone and language; and yet, in tune with the misogyny of the times, it is as sexist as that of his colleague.

Ortigão's "Prólogo" is in the form of a personal letter addressed to a "Minha querida amiga" and it praises Maria Amália for writing with spirit and grace. He considers her a model for what the professional woman writer should be: "humilde, obscura, anónima, ganhando a vida de maneira honrada" (Ortigão 1890: xvi—"humble, obscure, anonymous, making a living in a honest way"); she is also said to be "a melhor, entre nós, em literatura" (xvii—"the best, among us, in literature"). It is not clear who this

"nós" might be beyond a group of male writers. Ortigão obviously does not mention the public visibility that she had already garnered by then as a poet, writer and journalist who wrote for the major newspapers in an informed and authoritative style, using argumentative logic alongside irony with confidence. He is above all preoccupied with making Maria Amália, who had lost her husband in 1883 when she was only thirty-six and the mother of two small children, an exemplary woman figure who also happened to be a fine but modest, self-effacing writer.[18] It appears that the literary intelligentsia of the time agreed, since in 1912 she was the first woman elected to the Academy of Sciences of Lisbon; she was followed by the prestigious scholar Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcelos, to whom we will return.

Mulheres e crianças. Notas sobre a educação (1880—*Women and Children: Notes on Education*) presents the main themes that reappear in Maria Amália Vaz de Carvalho's subsequent writings on the topic. She tends to connect gender morality and economics; and to make deliberate use of the received common sense on gender, echoing its characteristic misogyny. Themes tend to be expressed in variations within each of the essays, with the key messages repeated across them. What is particularly distinctive about her thinking is the combination of a clearly elitist, anti-Enlightenment position against any notion of equality, be it gender or class, with a vehement defense of the social, indeed, national need for (bourgeois) women to be educated. What exactly constitutes that education beyond a vague but insistent emphasis on morality is not difficult to pinpoint, as pioneer critic of women's literature in Portugal, Thereza Leitão de Barros (1898–1983), suggested in her 1929 speech on the eighth anniversary of Maria Amália Vaz de Carvalho's death. At least, as far as this specific book is concerned, the author clearly outlines what should constitute the "new model" of education that she proposes to prepare the ideal housewife and mother: foreign languages, history, geography, arithmetic, geometry, natural sciences, all introduced according to a logic progression, "sem esforço" ("without effort"), after which would come art—whatever art the girl shows most aptitude for (Carvalho 1880: 51). This program was similar to that advocated by her contemporaries as suggested, for example, in an article published in the journal *A mulher* in 1885 by Anna Maria Ribeiro de Sá. Going beyond justifying the need for women's education in terms of their role as mothers, Maria Amália notes the need for women to support themselves in case of need—as happened with the author herself once her husband passed, leaving her with two young children. "Nas coisas triviais da vida prática prepare-a para todas as eventualidades. Que se não ache deslocada num trono, nem atrás de um balcão" (Carvalho 1880: 79—"In the trivial things of life, prepare her for all outcomes. May she not feel out of place in a throne, nor behind a [sales] counter").

The author sees in bourgeois women both liability and potential hope for the country in a socioeconomic, moral and political conjuncture of risk. She engages the language of degeneration that circulated in Europe at the time but relates it specifically to the concrete condition of poverty assailing Portugal at the end of the nineteenth century. Like Eça de Queiroz, she denounces immoralities through a naturalist lens, specifically calling attention to women's penchant for sentimentalism and luxuries and criticizing men for preferring the "mulher de salão" ("parlor woman") whom she considers a version of the "mulher-escrava" (Carvalho 1880: 16–26). The idea is further developed in the following chapter, titled "O falso luxo" ("False Luxury"), where Carvalho shuns the bourgeois woman who flaunts riches despite the poverty of her family and of the country as a whole (33–60).

Justifying herself against the known charge that she was "ferocious" against the sex to which she belongs and that she accused women unjustly, she states: "Eu digo que d'ellas provéem todos os males, porque estou convencia—talvez sem razão—que d'ellas podia provir todo o bem" (Carvalho 1880: 40–41—"I say that all evils come from them, because I'm convinced—maybe without cause—that all the good could come from them"). While this good was emphatically related to the degree to which women were educated, the author warns against education as a means for a woman to be fashionable, to be the exception among other women or to display "pedantic" superiority; its goal, covering the basic disciplines, should be strictly to prepare the austere, modest and joyful family woman (54–56). The idea that education for women should not be an end in itself but a means to "achieve moral perfection" within the confines of the maternal role (56) would ground Salazar's fascist model of women and the family—"family" here being understood in the double and interconnected sense of the individual, anonymous family and the greater Portuguese nation. Maria Amália would go on to develop that ideal in an increasingly conservative direction in *Cartas a Luiza (moral, educação, costumes)* (1886—*Letters to Luiza [Morals, Education, Customs]*), and in in the popular, repeatedly edited *Cartas a uma noiva* (1891—*Letters to a Bride*).

One of the more characteristic ways in which the famous author defends the idea of a separate and different education for women is by appealing to the contrast between Portugal and other advanced European countries with democratic traditions where proposals for gender equality in education can be implemented. In *Cartas a Luiza (moral, educação, costumes)* (1886—*Letters to Luiza [Moral, Education, Customs]*), published two years before the passing of the law that would allow for the creation of secondary schools for girls (in 1888), the author dedicates Letter III to the indictment of the proposal for equal education for boys and girls in France. She states that women should

be educated the same way as men are and given the "exact knowledge of things" so as to enlighten them with the positivist notions that will enable them to understand their social role and fulfill their duty with certitude (Carvalho 1886: 42). The moralist clarifies that such a position is in view of "complementary" rather than equal roles—a point she had already vehemently defended in the opening Letter of the volume (11–12), where she also calls out for a different kind of education for women (14). Further, and directly in opposition to the views of French feminists who then defended equal education and equality in all areas, the author considers the idea of equal political rights "absurd," and one that women reject. "Quero a mulher no interior da sua casa, e só a quero ahí; mas quero-a conscia do papel que tem a cumprir" (44—"I want woman in the interior of her home, and I only want her there; but I want her to be conscious of the role she must fulfill").

In *Cartas a uma noiva* (1891—*Letters to a Bride*), published several years before public secondary schools for girls had been opened and while the matter was being publicly debated, the author engages with the topic with verve, reasserting the necessity of gender-specific education.[19] Carvalho expresses reservations about mixed public schools on the grounds that they homogenize people, leveling those from different socioeconomic backgrounds, and leaving both men and women without moral guidance, and with too much study and not enough activity (Carvalho 1891: 113–14). Furthermore, such schools would detract from women's "natural faculties" when the goal of education for women should be to prepare wives and mothers (117). Once again, as she had done in *Cartas a Luiza* when discussing the proposal for equality of education in France (Carvalho 1886: 11–14), the author refers to the ideal of equality between men and women proposed by John Stuart Mill as something that did not apply to a country like Portugal, which had still not achieved the appropriate degree of civilization, as witnessed by "barbarian customs" that still survived. She argues that in such a context, it is wrong to make women independent of men by way of instruction or professional, artistic or scientific opportunities (Carvalho 1891: 118). The last section of the essay forcefully reiterates the need for education to proceed from both existing socioeconomic and gender differences, obeying a strict division of labor between men and women and corresponding spaces of that labor, i.e. outside and inside the home (119–29). Resorting to a typical social Darwinist argument according to which the "the race is stronger" in countries where men respect women (127–28), she insists on an education supporting the "laws of nature" to prepare women not to be professionals but wives and mothers (130–32).

It is in view of bringing into being a "stronger race" that Carvalho rouses women to patriotic, imperialist action as a reaction to the British Ultimatum

of 1890. *Cérebros e corações* (1903—*Brains and Hearts*) echoes in its own way women's public protests in the city of Oporto back on January 31, 1891, shoring up war against Great Britain and proposing that imported products be boycotted (d'Armada 1993: 265–69). The book opens with a simple but informative explanation of the historical and economic reasons why Portugal needs women more than ever to fulfill their "glorious mission." Carvalho cites and ostensibly supports the "intelligent minority," claiming that Portugal's empire in Africa would be more profitable than the empire ever was in India or Brazil, and that it should be developed (1903: 10). Rather than wait for a new King Sebastian to save the Portuguese from moral and economic depression (or "sadness"), the author advises mothers to prepare their children for the country's new imperialist "destiny": "A África é o futuro de Portugal" (11—"Africa is Portugal's future").[20]

The urgent and patriotic education of women beyond primary level is proposed by liberal monarchist Dom António da Costa in *A mulher em Portugal* (*Women in Portugal*), published in 1892. An enlightened aristocrat who served as Portugal's first Minister of Education in 1870, he created public primary schools, liberalized university education, put forward the plan for secondary schools to train teachers and created popular libraries. Due to his ill health and his subsequent death, he did not finish the second part of the work; it is meant to be a diagnosis of and a response to "a desmoralização que tem empeçonhado o país" (392—"the demoralization that has poisoned the country").

Although partly resonating with the perspective that informed Eça de Queiroz and Maria Amália Carvalho's writings on the topic, *A mulher em Portugal* seems rooted in an earlier non-positivist concern to dignify women by the recognition of the far-reaching responsibilities of the maternal role away from the public, or masculine, sphere of politics. The author's thinking seems to echo the development and modernizing tendencies typical of the Regeneration period of the liberal monarchy (1851–1868). It is the thinking that inspires *A mulher e a vida considerada debaixo dos seus principais aspétos: instrução secundária* (*Women and Life Considered in its Main Aspects: Secondary Instruction*), published in 1872 by José Joaquim Lopes Praça (1844–1920) (Castro 2007: 118). A pioneering historian of philosophy in Portugal and a professor and scholar of constitutional law, Lopes Praça aimed to rectify the sentimentalist, reductionist view of women presented by Louis-Aimé Martin, in the extremely influential book *Éducation des mères de famille* (1860), referred to earlier in connection with Almeida Garrett's *Da educação* (Praça 1877: 29–38). His defense of the need for women to receive secondary instruction and, more broadly, both a moral and a scientific education, was so that they would be prepared to fulfill their mission as mothers. More

than twenty years later, António da Costa did not opine differently, as he reactivated the ideals of regeneration and liberal progress against the republican and socialist doctrines beginning to circulate at the time.

Characteristically defending a strict separation of genders and corresponding spheres, Dom António da Costa took issue with the absence of public schools geared to train men and women for professions adequate to the different roles that they are due to fulfill in society (Costa 1892: 356–62). He tried to dissuade the reader from thinking that university education is "superior" in absolute terms, arguing that formal instruction in the arts, the arrangement of flowers and lace making might also count as "superior" education, as might be any training preparing women to successfully fulfill their domestic activities (356). He goes on to connect Portugal's lack of military strength, which would have prevented the government from immediately taking action against the British Ultimatum (i.e. "o roubo das nossas possessões de além-mar" [363—"the theft of our overseas possessions"]), with the lack of public schools for women as already existed by then in other countries, including "even" Spain (379–80). The author attributed that lack to a generalized ignorance as to the function that public instruction is due to fulfill, that is, to ensure the life of the national community (365).

Women of the upper classes in particular were expected to take an active role in an urgent program of national-imperialist rebirth not by claiming the privilege of "superior" or "scientific" education and entry into the professions, but by conscientiously assuming the role of "guerreiros da beneficiência" (Costa 1892: 383—"warriors of charity"). The author proposed that women with means should help prevent poverty from spreading further by doing charity work in the metropole while men engaged in battle against native unrest in the African colonies (384). This division of labor interestingly prescribed in a positive light what would become one of the central problems of Portuguese colonialism, in Africa as women stayed in the metropole trying to hold an economically sinking boat, their own home and the nation as home, while men were cast to fight native resistance to colonization rather than to actually settle the territories. The war delivered by the Portuguese government between 1961 and 1974 against pro-independence fighters in Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique, as we will see in Chapter 4, had a much longer history of gender politics than is normally thought.

The kind of education that Dom António da Costa had in mind for such female benefactors of the poor—in the poorest of empires, it might be added—was, ultimately, moral and religious. It was the "educação nacional" that would raise the spirits while helping women defend themselves against the bad influences of a decadent society led astray by foreign feminist ideas

(i.e. the desire for women to enter university and the professions) (Costa 1892: 400–01). Furthermore, the author rejected the egalitarian ideals of John Stuart Mill by claiming that scientific and political emancipation was unnatural for women; and all the more so for Portuguese women, whose supposedly "innate" qualities included a natural inclination to suffering, generosity and compassion (1869: 410–13). Confronting those who would see in the "masculinization" of women a sign of human progress, he went on to propose that women's highest goal should be to educate men, not to be educated like them (419). According to Dom António's reasoning, nothing other than "o sentimento da mulher" (420—"woman's sentiment"), guided by the moral and religious teachings of "national education," was needed for women to play an active role and not continue to be mere spectators of the "vasto theatro que se chama a patria portuguesa" (466—"vast theater called the Portuguese fatherland").

Such a paternalistic privileging of "woman's sentiment" to the detriment of the intellectual and professional development that, following Republican feminists' ideals would enable women's socioeconomic emancipation to bespeak the last cry of an ideology of a nation that had relegated feminine difference to motherhood. Somewhat like children, the underprivileged and the colonized, women had historically been considered close to the (mentally) ill. Michelet famously asserted that all women were "ill," something that Maria Amália Carvalho echoes with no misgivings in Letter XX of *Cartas a Luiza* where she discourages women from pursuing the goals of political emancipation and of the typically male professions (Carvalho 1886: 243–50). This line of thinking, used by Oliveira Martins two years later to condemn women's education (Martins 1924), explains the emphasis placed by liberal thinkers all the way to the would-be revolutionary republican and socialist intellectuals of the end of the nineteenth century on the need for public education specifically geared to prepare the wife-mother to ensure the health of the family. Rather than equality between the sexes or, for that matter, the classes or the races, such an ideology in fact manipulates and attempts to contain whatever seed of social rebellion might have been implanted in the feminine other (and subjugated others in general) by the Enlightenment ideal of universal right. And this is done fundamentally through a rhetorical appeal to the essential, natural goodness of the human being supposedly commanded by an unchanging, eternal feminine heart—one that be properly educated and guided to contribute to the imperial revival of the nation.

If it was said, twenty years earlier, that the pessimistic outlook on the future of Portugal was a result of the corruption of liberal ideals under the monarchy of the Regeneration at the end of the nineteenth century,

this was firmly connected to the control of African territories. The urgency for Portugal to regain its honor vis-à-vis economically stronger and more "civilized" European powers in the competition over the Dark Continent became, consequently, the focus of discourses concerned with the country's lagging behind in the race for progress and, ironically, human emancipation. As it related to public secondary education for women, those defending a form of Catholic constitutional monarchy, like Maria Amália and Dom António da Costa, called upon the cultural specificity of Portugal to reject the adoption of foreign (i.e. English) models of progress and education. But the Republican agenda gained the upper hand after the 1890s in a nationalist project of imperial rebirth that, for better or for worst, spoke a transnational language of order and progress and, along with it, of republican feminism. Needless to say, such a project depended continually on making women responsible for the fate of the nation. Thus, the rhetorical construction of a feminine figure who embodied the various lacks or failures that made the Portuguese "others" vis-à-vis an ideal heroic image of themselves,[21] and thus the glorification of "the educator of man" in the figure of the strong and rational republican mother, who was to be the main pillar of the imperialist nation.

The prescriptions offered to convert the feminine other into a version of the idealized national male were insistently related to the need for education and professional or practical instruction for women. There was, however, some divergence in stipulating gender-specific levels, contents and goals for the knowledge and abilities that were to be taught and learned in view of rescuing the national community from its cyclical state of economic depression and of social and political crisis. It became clear, however, that woman-ness, like nation-ness, were no longer conceived as pre-given, stable essences, determined solely by biological and geographical spaces and histories. They were, rather, deliberate and conscientious acts aiming to transform nature or, from another perspective, to forego or transcend cultural myths of gender in a social context that commanded the Darwinian "survival of the fittest" in terms of individuals as well as human groups.

Feminist Defenses of Women's Education and Republican Nationalism

Beyond the positivism of Maria Amália Vaz de Carvalho and the idealism of Dom António da Costa, nothing else seems to distinguish the old, commonplace idea that education should prepare women to be good mothers. In fact, they both supported the proposal for secondary schools for girls introduced in 1888. Due to the public controversy that immediately broke out (and that was to last for over three decades), the Council of Ministers

presided by Luciano de Castro awarded Alice Evelina Pestana Coelho (1860–1929) a research grant to study trends in women's education abroad. After collecting data in Switzerland, France and England, she published in January 1889 a formal report in the government newspaper *Diário do Governo*, titled "O que deve ser a instrução da mulher?" ("What Should Be Women's Instruction?"). It was subsequently published in booklet form by Imprensa Nacional in 1892.[22]

Privileging a concept of national education in line with what Almeida Garrett had proposed and both Maria Amália and Dom António da Costa had embraced, Alice Pestana, better known as Caiel, criticizes the use of foreign private teachers hired in Portugal by rich families. She proposes that "num país como o nosso" ("in a country like ours"), secondary schools should teach the basic disciplines and not intellectually demanding subjects; in addition, she recommends the teaching of non-academic subjects such as hygiene, gymnastics and home economics (Pestana 1892: 10–11). Her ideas in defense of women's education were evidently welcomed, leading progressive politician Bernardino Machado to offer her a second research grant in 1893. She was not paid for her work and limited her research to Paris, but promptly submitted a forty-two-page report in which she defended, among other things, the necessity for professional relevancy and applicability of education against the tendency, still dominant in Portugal, to theoretical abstractions (Câmara 1996: 96).

As a journalist, dramatist and short story writer, since the mid-1880s Caiel focused on the condition of women and, specifically, decried women's pervasive lack of education and its negative moral effect on society. She earned the recognition of liberal monarchist intellectuals of the time for her collection of short stories, *Às mães e às filhas* (*To Mother and Daughters*). Published first in the weekly *A República* and in book form in 1886, the same year as Maria Amália's *Cartas a Luiza*, Caiel's volume was prefaced by writer and liberal politician, Tomás Ribeiro (1831–1901). He considered it a healthy and useful book, a "disinfectant" of the corrupted environment that affects children since early in life (Ribeiro 1886: 8). The pedagogic, simple (and simplistic) stories included in the volume center around bourgeois mothers who are ignorant and vain, plunged in a life of indolence and luxuries, whose daughters, for the most part, end up repeating the mother's example until they undergo a moral transformation brought about by acquiring a new consciousness of the role of motherhood. Particularly emphasized in the last story, "A família Vieira" ("The Vieira Family"), a novella of sorts, is the idea that, while not all women may have "the patience" to study and may end up feeling "inferior" to their husbands and leading lives of boredom, the experience of motherhood can be all-redeeming (Pestana 1886: 342–57).

The feminism of Caiel's fiction should be qualified, and arguably for this reason she was supported by the liberal intelligentsia of the constitutional monarchy.[23] Still, the author did energetically reaffirm her position in defense of women's education and, specifically, secondary schools for girls in the years following the infamous Ultimatum. That defense is believed to document her conversion to republicanism as part of her connection to Bernardino Machado, a monarchist politician-turned-republican around 1893 (Rosa 1989); he would go on to write several books on public education. As in Spain, the rise of a feminist movement in Portugal was, indeed, connected to the growing popularity of republicanism, but it came specifically after what was interpreted as a British injury to national sovereignty.

Comentários à vida (1900—*Commentaries on Life*), a collection of essays of social, moral and political import presented in honor of republican Teófilo Braga, at the time President of the Associação Escolar de Ensino Liberal (Schools Association of Liberal Education), presents an interventionist program of social action and national regeneration based on women's education. In contrast to both the positivist privileging of reason of Maria Amália Vaz de Carvalho and the idealization of feminine sentiment of António da Costa, the author suggests that only a combination of both can be beneficial to society. Specifically, the author argues that women's sentiment needs to be educated through reason, for which women need to be educated "in parallel" with men (Pestana 1900: 65–69) According to the author, the education of women is key to the "rehabilitação das nações abatidas" (74—"rehabilitation of nations with low morale"), as was the cases in Portugal and Spain, whose imperial pride was affected at the end of the nineteenth century. In addition, according to the author, women must join together in saving their families and, by extension, the nation from further humiliation and economic ruin by foregoing luxuries and living modestly (77). This resonates with the values of domestic humility and thriftiness that Carvalho had already proposed and that would become the centerpiece of domestic economy under Salazar's New State. We will come back to this point in Chapter 2 with reference to Salazar's homemaker model of colonial administration.

What is unique about Caiel is that she urges that women be educated "liberally," and consequently be allowed to take part in "intellectual exchanges" and perform public administrative roles, for which they are naturally gifted (Pestana 1900: 78). As others before her, the author has in mind bourgeois women, not the working-class women whose slave-like condition she denounces as a result of the development of capitalism and in relation to whom she makes no appeal to the value of education. Instead, she argues that due to the poverty of the country as a whole the situation of the

poor is especially deplorable; and proposes another version of António da Costa's plan of feminine charity work. For Caiel, educated and presumably idle women of the upper classes can help save the nation from doom by creating a "Liga do trabalho feminino portuguez" (79–84—"League of Portuguese feminine work"), an institution that would help poor women work at home and earn wages while attending to the needs of their homes and families.

Caiel goes beyond the defense of public secondary education for—as Maria do Céu Borrêcho remarks—the daughters, sisters and future wives of high professionals are "a parte mais válida da nação" (123—"the nation's most valid sector"). She is interested in pointing to the deeper root of the problems of Portuguese society, both morally and politically. Her indictment seems to be aimed at those who have the power to intervene on public education at the level of basic literacy to all citizens (as is the case with Teófilo Braga, whom Caiel's work honors). She considers literacy a necessity for the modern human being (Pestana 1900: 142). She charges: "Somos de direito o país bárbaro da Europa. [...] Portugal é um paiz de analfabetos" (141—"We are, rightly, the barbarian country of Europe. [...] Portugal is a country of illiterates"). And she finishes by hailing the "we" that should lead a campaign to end illiteracy. The sociopolitical affiliation of that collective subject is to women before it is feminist, and it is international before it is nationalist, as suggested by the author's discussion of the resolution taken at the meeting of the International Council of Women, in 1888, regarding the need for women themselves to work for the defense of women and children, the most affected by social problems; men, much too involved in the world of business, had failed to enact the ideal of universal rights (85–89).

Alice Pestana's contribution to the cause of women's education in Portugal is recognized by the reputable philologist and a feminist in her own right, German-born Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcelos (1851–1925).[24] She does so in *O movimento feminista em Portugal* (2002), a series of six articles first published in the major Oporto newspaper, *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, beginning September 1902.[25] Defending the idea that the struggle for women's education is one of feminism's most important tasks, Vasconcelos denounces the high illiteracy rate and lack of education affecting women in Portugal and in Spain. They are said to be "mais primitivas" than other European women and, in the case of the Portuguese, have physical features that suggest intellectual limitations (Vasconcelos 2002: 29). She goes on to blame the country's customs and general "ignorância" for the disregard for women's education before, finally, mentioning those who have taken steps to surmount those limitations via their work as publicists, including, first and foremost, Maria Amália Vaz de Carvalho (48–51). She also commends the efforts of Dom António da Costa

and Bernardino Machado for working toward the institutionalization of instruction for women (75–81).

The use of the naturalist-agonistic language and arguments that are typical of the defense of education and of instruction for women by liberal monarchists is also found in republican authors for whom secondary education for women is necessary for Portugal to regain the status of a civilized European country. It is not accidental that the motto for Escola Solidariedade Feminina (Feminine Solidarity School), founded in 1914, would become "Educar a mulher é contribuir para a redenção da pátria" (in Borrêcho 2011: 117—"To educate women is to contribute toward the redemption of the fatherland"). Looking at social issues through a positivist lens and equally alarmed by the dire economic conditions that Portugal faced at the turn of the century, the authors under study draw on the instrumental reason that was the province of advanced, industrialized and properly civilized European countries. That reason, in name of progress, is what informed the struggle for public education and, specifically, education for women. It aimed to do away with the symptom of national decadence represented by some authors in the last quarter of the century by the figure of the irrational, sensuous, all-feeling woman. The feminist republican Ana de Castro Osório (1872–1935) would use that figure to lobby for educating women as integral to the national redemption promised by the republican government.

Osório opens her collection of essays, *Às mulheres portuguesas* (1905—*To Portuguese Women*), with a bold attack on the traditional identification of women with what Eça de Queiroz had denounced as the "mundo do sentimento." For the author, women should no longer see love and marriage as the only objective of their lives, but rather aim to achieve educational and professional goals (Osório 1905: 12). A pedagogical harangue on the interrelation of feminism with nationalism, the book discusses the social, moral, political and professional condition of (bourgeois) women and the poor. The first three chapters constitute a sort of feminist manifesto; the fourth, on "As mulheres e a política" ("Women and Politics"), and the fifth, "Ser português" ("To be Portuguese"), shed light on the gender, race and class ideologies that inform Osório's work as a feminist and republican activist. Her insistence on denouncing a deplorable state of national affairs on all fronts, but especially as regards the condition of women, constructs an elitist position that compromises the utopian mobilization of community between (bourgeois) women, would-be feminists and nationalists.[26]

In the opening chapters of her book, under "Feminism," Osório defends the Enlightenment ideal of full educational, professional and social opportunities for women while arguing against limiting their life choices

to love and marriage. Considering the larger political debate around the issue of female education going on in the context of turn-of-the-century Portugal, Osório's forceful definition of what it is to be a feminist is clearly a reaction to the opinions of those who, like Dom António da Costa and Maria Amália Carvalho, believed that women's scientific, professional and political emancipation would defeminize women, turning them away from the mission of motherhood. Osório essentially paraphrases John Stuart Mill's *The Subjection of Women* (1869), and asserts her confidence in the truth of science a as source of liberation, for "*intelectualmente* não há sexos privilegiados, mas unicamente individuos e, quando muito, raças" (15; emphasis in original—"*intellectually* there are no privileged sexes, but only individuals and, in the best of instances, races").

The first essay of *Às mulheres portuguesas*, "Ser feminista" ("To be feminist"), establishes a bold contrast with the earlier writers here perused even if some of her criticisms of Portuguese women resonate with theirs. Echoing John Stuart Mill without attribution, Osório condemns women's total dependence on the ideal of love and their abiding by the cultural belief that they marry in order to survive emotionally and economically (1905: 12–17). Encouraged, especially by men themselves, to submit to men's desires while despising education and work, women are said to be "ignorantes criaturinhas" (14—"ignorant little creatures"), whose only function is to assure the comfort of the master of the household (17–19). The feminist's indictment of the enslavement of women in the traditional "missão caseira" (19—"domestic mission") is followed by the argument that only through study and especially spiritually rewarding work can women find their "carta de alforria" (21—"letter of manumission"). Since she does not believe that Portuguese women themselves have the capacity to free themselves, Osório charges fathers with the "duty" of being feminists. She rejects the negative caricature of the feminist that circulated in her day, that is, the asexual or masculinized woman, and recommends that fathers educate their daughters so as to ensure their full independence and hence human dignity (24). Later on, in another essay, Osório specifies the need that women be prepared to become productive members of society whether they choose to become wife-mothers or self-supporting spinsters (54).

Beyond contesting the typical expository convention by which the education of women is addressed or presupposing the mother as teacher, Ana de Castro Osório entrusts fathers with the formation of feminist daughters due to the scandalous rate of illiteracy among Portuguese women at the time. In other words, Osório assumes rightly that even in the bourgeois classes that she has in mind, mothers are less likely to be literate than fathers; the rates of illiteracy at the turn of the century certainly corroborate her position.[27] Following a

social Darwinist belief that influenced the criteria of civilization toward the end of the nineteenth century, a lack of even the most basic education would amount to a less-than-civilized condition. As Eric Hobsbawm notes, "By the late 1870s any European country or region with a majority of illiterates could be almost certainly classified as non-developed or backward, and the other way round. Italy, Portugal, Spain, Russia and the Balkan countries were at best on the margins of development" (1987: 25). Hence, as noted earlier, Maria Amália Vaz de Carvalho pointed out the persistence of "barbarian customs" in Portugal and Alice Pestana/Caiel called it "the barbarian country of Europe." As for Osório, women's ignorance, regardless of class, puts in jeopardy not only the family but society at large and the very integrity of the nation. "Uma das maiores vergonhas nacionaes é, por certo, o analfabetismo" (50—"One of our biggest national shames is, surely, illiteracy")—she states, going on to note that what "pavorosamente" ("frighteningly") raises the numbers of illiterates is women.

In spite of the fact that Osório does not make an explicit reference to the African empire in these initial essays, her language and structure of thought not only intertextually evoke but are ideologically enmeshed in typical colonialist, racist constructions. Her positivist, organicist perspective implies a connection between the domestic sphere and the colonial one, that perspective accounting for what postcolonial feminist thinkers, for example, Anne McClintock, have emphasized. Two sets of homologous historical-temporal connections may be identified in that regard. One is between daughters and child-like Africans; and, contrastingly, between uneducated, dependent, demeaned women and likewise ignorant, subordinate and corrupt slaves. The other is between feminist fathers in the Portuguese family, those who have the supposed duty of raising daughters to be the educated and independent women of the future; and the similarly benevolent and enlightened father-colonizers who take up the so-called White Man's Burden in the more extensive intercontinental national family.[28] The program for nationalist motherhood that Osório puts forth in the fifth essay, "Ser português" ("To Be Portuguese"), lays out the rationale according to which the traditionally male colonial "burden" is reconceptualized in women's hands but strictly for national, domestic use.

As is the case with most essays in the collection, "Ser português" is an assumedly passionate, patriotic tirade, criticizing women for remaining aloof from politics at a time when national hegemony was in danger and the nation was suffering a serious moral depression (Osório 70). The alarm has to do with the impotence of the Portuguese people in preventing "um pedaço das colonias seja retalhado à patria" (68—"a piece of our colonies [being] retailed off from the fatherland"), or that country being forced

into a new loan or an overcharge of taxes.[29] She asserts that the overall decadence afflicting Portugal was a result of concessions that politicians, and everybody after them, were in the habit of making to those in positions of power, strictly in order to avoid conflict or for personal gain (75). Aside from echoing the constitutional monarchy's long-standing criticisms of the corrupted government, in place since the last liberal revolution in 1834, the author has here in mind King Carlos's abiding by the demands of the British, something that republicans saw as an act of "selling off" the country to England. Indeed, as early as 1850, António José Seixas, a former slave trader and businessman established in Lisbon, had published an article suggesting that Portugal did not have the means to be a colonizer and, hence, should concentrate its efforts in Angola and São Tomé and sell off all other territories (Alexandre 1996: 197). Demoralized and lacking in nationalist spirit, the Portuguese—according to Osório's reasoning—accept such blows to national pride and actual threats to their independence while feeding nostalgically on glories of times past (Osório 1905 74). Unlike most of her contemporaries, Osório sides with Oliveira Martins in recommending against any colonialist effort in Africa, proposing instead the development of industries in the metropolis (79).[30]

Such a product-oriented, progressive plan for saving the Portuguese economy and thereby avoid the loss of sovereignty, then, excludes colonial ventures. After all, the country had been increasingly weakened for more than two centuries due to imperial losses, including lost investments (81). Oliveira Martins had noted it, and earlier on Antero de Quental had clearly pointed to the empire as one of the causes for Portugal's (and Spain's) decadence in the last decades of the nineteenth century.

Strategically changing her form of address to the plural you, Osório charges mothers with the ennobling task of "resistência" so as to rescue the nation from dissolution. The primary instrument for accomplishing such a goal is by raising male sons within the tenets of a national education (78). Administered as an act of love, it would involve language, geography, literature, art, industries, gastronomy, folklore and ethnography (77). For the author, the future of the nation does not depend upon elaborate studies, white-collar professionals or military feats, but instead on the development of national industries, handicrafts and natural resources geared toward an economy of export (79–80). The brief appearance of the first person plural, "nós mulheres," on whom Osório entrusts this program of national education, compels the construction of a community of mothers who say nothing about the right or need to partake also of "complicated" or "scientific" education, engage in masculine "bureaucratic" professions or aim for the sphere of the nation's politics. In the end, "to be Portuguese"—

the title of the essay—amounts to a rhetorical injunction of male-centered national identity that appropriates, manipulates and finally ignores an earlier feminist appeal to equal rights.

Earlier on in *Às mulheres portuguesas*, in her coercive defense of what it is to be a feminist, Osório asserts repeatedly that to love or not to love (i.e. to become a wife-mother or not) should be the result of an informed social choice, rather than the inevitable biological or cultural destiny, of libidinal or romantic fantasies or of women's traditional subservient status (1905: 12, 18, 31). Given, however, what concerns the immediate needs of the nation, there seems to be virtually no choice: one is either a "good" or a "bad" Portuguese woman, but only by first being a mother-educator. Quite plainly, "to be Portuguese" is, for women, to raise sons to become "homens saudáveis em corpo e alma" (82—"healthy men in body and soul"); and to raise daughters to become dignified wives and humble but happy helpmates. In Osório's picture of different but complementary gender roles, which may not be so different than that of liberal monarchist Catholic Maria Amália Vaz de Carvalho, the daughters of would-be feminist father-educators are nowhere to be found. And neither are the women whom she derides as "ignorant little creatures" for making love, or marriage, the only goal in life (14). Even further from her "we women" are the factory workers who do not have the civilizing effect of education and hence display what the feminist describes as the behavior of "intoleraveis animaesinhos" (45—"intolerable little animals").

In "Mulheres e política" ("Women and Politics"), an essay promoting women's participation in politics, Osório leaves no doubt as to what may be expected of those alienated by physical and legal forms of coercion. Like slaves have done, she proffers, women forcefully submitted to those in power take vengeance by corrupting them (59). She blames men for this, partly for not supporting female education and instruction and partly because they have historically excluded intelligent, cultured women from partaking of political decisions alongside men (60). Again, it would seem to be up to men, and men alone, to recognize their error and open the doors of education and, consequently, of politics to intellectually able women.

Conclusion

"A nação amada pelas mulheres não morre nunca na história" (74—"The nation loved by women will never die in history"), claims the author in the context of her appeal that women become nationalist mothers. Complicating her feminist commitment, such a model of Portuguese womanhood does not seem to be essentially different than the model envisioned by conservatives who, throughout the nineteenth century, defended education for women but

strictly in view of their role as mothers of and for the nation. In that frame, men and sons were to assure Portugal's future as a European, empire-holding nation. Obviously, Osório writes within the tradition of civic motherhood, according to which motherhood is "a moral responsibility and a woman's first act of citizenship" (Richardson 2000: 236). The loyalty to the mother before the woman bespeaks the lack of support that, in the end, feminists had from republicans in Portugal as elsewhere (e.g. Rochefort 2004: 84–85). It is telling that the republican government withheld suffrage from women along with the promise of better lives that it had made to workers.[31] Disappointment consequently fed anarchist and socialist reactions along with those of feminists, who eventually cut ties with the republican government. In 1914, they created the Conselho Nacional das Mulheres Portuguesas as the national chapter of the International Council of Women, founded in New York in 1888 by Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton.

Although eradicating female illiteracy continued to be one of the main objectives of the National Council of Portuguese Women, it was not justified in terms of the welfare of the nation per se and much less in terms of empire.[32] In one of the articles published in October 1917 in the Council's bulletin, Angola is identified as a "terra do degredo" or a place to where criminals were deported, as apparently happened with a young poor woman who killed the man who tried to rape her (Alves, "Maria Ferniana"). All the more reason to admire the decision of the honorable feminist Adelaide Cabete, a gynecologist and the founder of the Council, to emigrate to Angola in 1929 out of frustration with the republican government's lack of support of feminist causes, namely suffrage. In the colony, she practiced medicine and undertook initiatives of public health related to women.

In 1924 and 1928, the Council organized two major congresses on feminism and education. The second of these congresses, according to its contemporary feminist lawyer Elina Guimarães (1904–1991), was met with stern criticism for what newspapers reported as a scandalous "innovation" (2012: 12). A military dictatorship had ousted the democratic republic in May 1926 and had called on board economics professor António Oliveira Salazar, who became minister of finance in April of 1928, just a few months before the second of those congresses. From publicly shunning feminist demands for the right of women to education to replacing feminist ambitions overall with the fascist, nationalist model of womanhood dominant at the time took only a few years.[33] In between, women—a restricted number of women, to be sure—were gallantly offered the right to vote and three years later three single professional women were elected to the National Assembly. As Irene Flunser Pimentel succinctly puts it, Salazar "decreed" what the republicans had long withheld and in so doing secured, or hoped to secure, the support

of the nation's most conservative forces—an elite of Catholic women on whom were entrusted the areas of public assistance and education (30–33). The activism, the public enlightenment and engagement of turn-of-the-century feminists, was however not entirely futile: they arguably set the conditions for the emergence and subsequent naturalization of the so-called woman writer in Portuguese culture.

Writing has become for some a way to carry forth women's expected maternal commitment to the nationalist-imperialist project by teaching as wide a public as possible about colonial lands and peoples in easily consumable, popularizing accounts. Indeed, as Reina Lewis has suggested, both nationalism and colonialism engaged women as cultural producers in an unprecedented way (1996: 2–3). Their narratives, even in their republican, positivist version, became as much about the urgency of colonizing others out there, in vague African territories, as they were about civilizing those who, in the metropole, were deemed backward and/or dangerous threats to the ideology of motherhood. In this context, and not unlike what Antoinette Burton has remarked in relation to European feminists after the second half of the nineteenth century, the imperialist nation takes precedence over feminist issues (1994: 152). In Portugal, however, that did not take place until the 1930s and 1940s, that is, in the context of Salazar's New State. Compulsory primary education begins then to be the norm, replacing older forms of socialization and alphabetization typical of premodern, rural societies (Candeias 2007: 295). In the 1950s, by the time literacy levels in Portugal showed a substantial increase with 67 percent of the men and 51 percent of the women aged ten and older being literate (Candeias et al. 2007: 176), women writing about empire definitely did not do so within the colonial literature institutional purview, or even inspiration. They rather pointed to what had gone wrong with the empire and its practical consequences, that is, colonialism, ironically at the time that settler colonialism began to be partly achieved in Angola and Mozambique.

Notes

1 All translations from the Portuguese are my own unless noted otherwise.

2 Manuel Gonçalves Cerejeira was Cardinal-Patriarch of Lisbon from 1929 to 1971. Salazar, who instituted the Estado Novo or New State, in 1933, suffered a stroke in 1968 and was replaced by Marcello Caetano (1906–1980), who would go on to rule the country until the April 25, 1974 military coup d'état that deposed the fascist-colonialist regime.

3 See Borrêcho 2011, especially 112–19; and Torgal 1998: 609.

4 Approval of public secondary schools for girls had been secured in 1888. See Proença 1998: 217–21 for a summary of the troubled introduction of public high schools in Portugal.

5 For a list of feminist demands presented to the republican government between 1910 and 1918, see Esteves 2008a: 39–41; and Esteves 2011.

6 See Esteves 2018 for a concise and well-informed overview in English of the development of feminisms in nineteenth-century Portugal, including an overview of the main women writers.

7 In 1913, the republican government changed its electoral law to limit voting to male citizens. The incident emblematizes the many equivocations between feminists and the first republic. See Esteves 2008b; Vicente 2010; Távora and Bobone, n.d.

8 For broader panoramas of anti-feminist intolerance in Portugal, see Vicente 2009; and Baltazar 2011.

9 I am here drawing on Mary Nash's discussion of regeneration in reference to feminisms in nineteenth-century Spain (246).

10 The 1904 edition was prepared by Teófilo Braga, a member of the politically progressive Generation of 1870 (which will be discussed subsequently) and future President.

11 See Bishop-Sanchez (2011) on women and education in Garrett's most important work.

12 The Brazilian feminist Nísia Floresta would publish her free translation of Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Women* in 1833, following it with subsequent editions as well as with a fierce defense of women's education in *Opúsculo humanitário* (1853). See Augusta 1989a and 1989b.

13 Garrett's letter to his daughter is included in the 1867 edition of *Da educação* and in every edition thereafter.

14 The idea connecting women's virtue with how much she works (logically at home) is implied in one of Salazar's most famous pronouncements: "there was never a good housewife who did not have a lot to do" (Salazar 1945: 201).

15 Cases in point are Camilo Castelo Branco's *Amor de perdição* (*Doomed Love*), intertextually recalled in Maria Manuel Lisboa's *Uma mãe desconhecida: Amor e perdição em Eça de Queirós*, and Almeida Garrett's *Viagens na minha terra* (*Travels in My Homeland*).

16 See Pazos-Alonso 2016 for a discussion of Francisca Wood's novel *Maria Severn*, initially serialized in *Voz Feminina* along with the works of other nineteenth-century women, for example Guiomar Torresão.

17 "Educação da mulher" was part of a series of four articles that Oliveira Martins published between 1886 and 1888 criticizing women's desire to be educated, emancipated, to vote and to practice what were then considered men's professions.

18 This gender normative appreciation of the author's feminine modesty reappears in the Preface by Augusto Pires de Lima (1883–1950) to *Cartas a uma noiva*, first published in the fifth edition in 1933, the year of Salazar's official institution of the Estado Novo.

19 The creation of public secondary schools in Portugal dates bak to 1836, to the government of Minister Passos Manuel. The many reforms and counter-reforms that followed point to the difficulty in institutionalizing this most important liberal initiative. See Torgal 1998: 622.

20 The author refers ironically to the folk belief that a hero, like King Sebastian (1554–1578), would appear someday to save the Portuguese from the imperial losses and the powerlessness to which they were doomed after the young king's death in battle in Morocco. With no descendant to take the throne, Portugal was annexed by Spain, gaining independence again only in 1640.

21 Gonçalo Mendes Ramires, the protagonist of Eça de Queiroz's *A ilustre casa de Ramires* (1900—*The Illustrious House of Ramires*), is an unforgettable caricature of that heroic self-image.

22 For overviews of Alice Pestana's life and work focused on women's education, see Samara 2007, especially pp. 45–57 and Câmara 1996.

23 Samara rightly points out how Alice Pestana's short story, "O anjo da paz" (The angel of peace), included in `As mães e `as filhas (published in 1886), suggests the typical sexist thinking that the author had apparently internalized (Samara 2007: 178). For a characterization of Alice Pestana as "feminist," see Rosa 1989: 19. Regina Tavares da Silva considers her rather "one of the radical precursors" (1983: 876).

24 See Correia 1986 for an introduction to the author's life and main works.

25 These articles are the Portuguese translation of a substantial part of an essay that appeared originally in *Handbuch der Frauenbewegung* (*Handbook of the Women's Movement*), a five-volume work edited by Helene Lange and Gertrudes Baumer and published in 1901 in Berlin.

26 The idealistic or utopian character of Osório's discourse has been noted but not problematized (e.g. Silva 2012: 21–22).

27 As mentioned earlier, in 1890, the illiteracy rate was 68 percent for men and 84 percent for women (Candeias et al. 2007: 105).

28 Ania Loomba points out how the White Man's Burden is constructed as a parental role that depends on the complementary construction of the colonized as children (2005: 217).

29 Osório evokes the Anglo-German agreement of 1889 whereby Portugal could not negotiate with either country alone for a loan, since they both wanted to hold the Portuguese territories in Africa as colateral. Great Britain did not finally go through with the agreement so as to avoid German expansion in Africa; Portugal subsequently had to accept a loan from France (Teresa Pinto Coelho n.d.: 7).

30 For an overview of Oliveira Martins's negative and, at best, vigilant and financially pragmatic position regarding the African empire, see Alexandre 1996: 195–201.

31 The neorealist writer António Alves Redol would memorialize the disappointment of workers with the republican government in his novel *Reinegros* 1945.

32 This statement is based on my initial research into the feminist organization's official publication, which was first titled *Boletim* (1915–1917) and subsequently *Alma Feminina* (1917–1947).

33 See Cova and Pinto 1997 for an early but still unsurpassed comparative analysis of the model of fascist womanhood in Salazar's Portugal.

CHAPTER TWO

Colonial Literature and Women: Variations on a Theme

No other topic in colonial studies has attracted as much attention as the difference that gender or, more properly, women can make to the traditional understanding of empire as a masculine endeavor. Since the last two decades of the twentieth century, numerous studies have appeared calling attention to the roles that women played as agents of empire; and thus recovering from oblivion the work of women professionals, travelers, writers, artists and activists.[1] Based on nineteenth- and twentieth-century British, German, Dutch, French and Belgian imperialisms, this research has frequently pointed to the vulnerabilities of empire in need of substantiation and reassurance (e.g. Levine 2004: 202–03). Thinking of colony and metropole as "a single analytical field" as proposed by Ann Stoler and Frederick Cooper (1997: 4), those vulnerabilities are dramatized on the home front, particularly by the responsibility ascribed to mothers of the healthy, strong nation in cultures of empire (Davin 1997: 105).

The phrase "malhas que o império tece" ("webs the empire weaves") became a kind of adage in Portuguese culture of the twentieth century for the generalized, perhaps more painful than otherwise, realization that empire and nation were one. And not only because dictator António de Oliveira Salazar so decreed it in the New State Constitution of 1933 by affirming "'the political and juridical unity'" of the metropole and overseas colonies (Torgal 2009: I, 471). "Malhas que o império tece" first appears in the poem "O menino da sua mãe" ("His Mother's Child"), published by Fernando Pessoa (1888–1935) in the journal *Contemporânea*, in 1926. The first and last stanzas read thus:

> No plaino abandonado
> Que a morna brisa aquece
> De balas trespassado—
> Duas, de lado a lado—
> Jaz morto, e arrefece

Lá longe, em casa, há a prece:
"Que volte cedo, e bem!"
(Malhas que o Império tece!)
Jaz morto e apodrece
O menino da sua mãe.

(On a deserted plain
Heated by a warm breeze,
Drilled clean through—
By two bullets—
He lies dead, turning cold.

Faroff, at home, there is prayer:
"May he soon return, safe and sound."
(Such webs does the Empire weave!)
He lies dead, and is rotting,
This mother's child. (Pessoa 1988: 24–25)

The modernist poet condenses in the topical figure of the weeping mother the national pain over the thousands of soldiers dead, wounded and imprisoned in World War I while fighting on the side of the Allies against the German army in Europe and in Angola and Mozambique.[2] Picking up from and intent on outshining the sixteenth-century master Luís Vaz de Camões in the already ominous epic poem *Os Lusíadas* (1572—*The Lusiads*, translated in 1880 by Sir Francis Burton, 1880), Pessoa leaves for posterity the image of a weak, emasculated nation. But the image also points to women's political aloofness, distance and marginality to what is going on in the brutal, grim world of competition for empire. As Marlow, in Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* (1902) had put it, women "should be out of it. We must help them to stay in that beautiful world of their own, lest ours gets worse" (Conrad 2007: 44). That was not so much the case with women from the Belgian or other European empires as with the Portuguese—they stayed "out of it" for the most part. Still, some wrote about "it," not while living in Africa as colonists but later, as informed witnesses in the metropole.

At the turn of the twentieth century, thinkers and writers of different ideological persuasions, such as Maria Amália Vaz de Carvalho and Alice Pestana discussed in the previous chapter, suggested that control of the African territories had become a matter of "national salvation," requiring the conscientious participation of women as wives and mothers. In the momentous work of postcolonial feminism, *Imperial Leather* (1995), Anne McClintock argues that nineteenth-century imperialism came into being through domesticity. The interdependence of domesticity and empire,

which she analyzes with respect to the British empire, surfaced with the weight of historical belatedness in Portuguese colonial discourse. Colonial literature, and particularly that penned by women, offers a rich and thus far untapped source about such an interdependency. It records not only the historical conditions, but the desires and anxieties that fueled and simultaneously restrained the bringing into being of a colonialism out of sync with the modern industrial, capitalist world. This chapter and the following discuss the relevant literary representations mobilized by a number of virtually ignored women writers whose texts are analyzed in the context of late European imperialism on the African continent and in relation to the discursive, imaginative making of António de Oliveira Salazar's empire-nation.

Colonial Propaganda and Women's Difference

In 1926, that same year that Fernando Pessoa cast in a maternal, feminine figure Portugal's imperial vulnerability, the General Agency of the Colonies (Agência Geral das Colónias) announced an annual contest of colonial literature, "Prémio de literatura colonial." At first the initiative contemplated only imaginative writing, aiming to foster colonial enthusiasm and encourage reading among the youth. From 1932 when the initiative became centralized under the Ministry of the Colonies, until 1951, when it ended to be renamed "Prémio de literatura do ultramar" in 1952, two additional broad disciplinary areas were added to the prize: one for history, travel writing, biography and ethnography; and another one for colonial scientific literature. The purpose of the contest was reiterated in Article 50 of Decree no. 21–998 published by the Ministry of the Colonies in the official government newspaper *Diário do Governo* on December 15, 1932: "Para propaganda do Império Português, progresso da cultura nacional e desenvolvimento do interesse público pelos assuntos que respeitam às colónias ..." (Ministério das Colónias 1932: 2469—"For propaganda of the Portuguese Empire, progress of colonial culture and development of public interest in matters related to the colonies ...").[3]

Collecting and disseminating of knowledge about the colonies was something that most other empires had been doing since the creation of geographical societies in the second half of the nineteenth century, becoming a central part of mass culture by the end of World War I (Bell et al. 1995). The Portuguese initiative follows suit: it is neither unique nor more propagandistic than any other nationalist construction of colonial knowledge, being meant to create and mobilize colonial citizens (e.g. Thomas 1985; Chafer and Sackur 2002). Publications in the areas of colonial

literature, historiography, ethnography and folklore, not to mention natural and biological tropical sciences, appeared regularly from the end of the 1920s and throughout the 1940s. Texts are purposely written in a language and style accessible to youth and a little-educated reading public; suffice it to note that, by 1930, 50 percent of men and 69 percent of women aged ten and older were still illiterate in Portugal (Candeias et al. 2007: 147). This being so, it is unlikely that colonial literature was meant primarily to encourage people to move to the African colonies and settle there for good. Rather, it was meant to instill patriotic pride in Portugal's expansionist history. But, curiously, colonial literature was never included in school textbooks as such (Errante 1994: 235–37).

Beyond literature, the period also witnessed numerous other colonial propaganda initiatives meant to inculcate an imperialist consciousness or "mystique" on the general population. Aside from periodical publications, such as the *Boletim da Agência Geral das Colónias*, the important and long-lasting series *Cadernos Coloniais* was launched; its numerous booklets, to which we will shortly return, were intended as a digest of colonial knowledge. In that vein, the first Portuguese Colonial Exhibition, organized by the military official and prolific colonial author, Henrique Galvão, was held in Oporto in 1934, and concurrently the first Congress of National and Colonial Anthropology. Two years later, the city of Lisbon hosted the first Conference on the Colonial Economy as well as a series of lectures on Colonial High Culture. Those were followed by the Historical Exhibition of the Occupation in 1937 and the celebration of "Colonial Week" the same year. All the activity surrounding colonial knowledge for public display and consumption culminated with the spectacular Exhibition of the Portuguese World in 1940, and the launching of a new serial publication, *Portugal Maior*, that same year (Silva 1992: 370–72).

If "the economic centrality" of a given empire was correlated to its "symbolic, ideological and political weight" (Thomaz 2002: 39), it is important to take note of the amount of colonial knowledge produced to construct a powerful imperial Portugal, particularly during the 1930s and 1940s. Considering the country's feeble position in relation to other European empires, its permanent foreign debt and its dependency on foreign investors to develop the natural resources of its own colonies, the sheer weight of cultural products related to the colonies suggests just how important it was to reaffirm sovereignty over the threatened empire. In this context, literary works, drama, film and photography, sculpture and visual arts, folklore and anthropological exhibits magnifying the so-called "overseas" could be said to overcompensate for the fragility and infamous inadequacy of Portuguese colonialism. "Colonial vulnerability" (Roque 2003) in this case came down

to that insufficiency, controversially described by Boaventura de Sousa Santos as a "deficit of colonization" (2002: 9).

Colonial discourse can be said to attempt to foil for that deficit of money, people, institutions and the concrete machinery needed for colonial development. As Gerald Bender put it, "words were cheap and authors abundant" (1978: 6). Like the elaborate display of imperial power in the International Colonial Exhibition of Paris in 1931, Portuguese colonial literature, along with all other colonial culture of the period, may be understood, then, as part of the defensive, reactive mode in which the empire subsisted, against all odds (Allina 1997). The construction and staging of "*lived* collective memory," particularly via the "modality of commemoration," became, in that context, "the most potent and organic" of forms for the imagination to serve the regime (Ó 1992: 427–28; emphasis in original).

It is important to note, moreover, that contrary to what happened with colonial propaganda in England and France, for example, the effort officially and systematically undertaken since the late 1920s, cannot be seen apart from both the vulnerability of the Portuguese empire and the institution of a new authoritarian, fascistic or fascist political order.[4] The democratic First Republic, founded in 1910, was toppled by a military coup in 1926 as a result of political unrest, with constant changes of government leaders, but most of all a mounting economic crisis caused by enormous foreign debt accumulated for initiatives of colonial development that could not be sustained (Alexandre 2011: 78–81). The military called in a conservative professor of economics from the University of Coimbra, António de Oliveira Salazar, to save the country from bankruptcy, for which he was soon given full dictatorial powers. It makes sense that Salazar would look to the colonies themselves as a solution to "the colonial question," first and foremost conveying the grandiose idea of a Portuguese empire to raise national spirits and generate economic capacity for the metropole. The African territories were largely undeveloped and open to exploitation and even takeover by competing imperial powers in addition to individual business adventurers not the least mindful of national interests (Rosas 1994: 128–35).

Hence, colonialism was in order, but it depended first of all on bringing about a new colonial mindset that required the collaboration of a new model of Portuguese family. Nationalist, fascist and eugenic models of family and womanhood became the necessary complement to the literature and public initiatives of colonial propaganda. They worked together in view of the political and economic need to actually bear out the discourse of empire by connecting it both to the nuclear family and to the greater family-nation. The numerous appeals for the moral regeneration of the family and, by

extension, the regeneration of what was then still called "the Portuguese race," were not simply meant for passive consumption but to create in people's minds the coming into being of "a bigger Portugal"—"um Portugal maior," as Pestana de Vasconcelos states in his booklet outlining *O conceito do lar e da família no Estado Novo* (1933—*The Concept of Hearth and Family in the New State*).

It is generally agreed that the 1930 Colonial Act marks the beginning of a new phase in Portuguese colonization, answering to imperialist, nationalist and centralizing directives and aiming to make better economic use of the colonies (Rosas 1994: 231). Its inclusion in the Constitution of the New State, made official in April 1933, intertwines overseas colonies and the domestic nation not only politically but symbolically, suggesting how that close connection should be enacted in everyday behaviors and practices under the jurisdiction of the family and other organisms of moral influence. Article 11 understands the family as the "fonte de conservação e desenvolvimento da raça, como base primária da educação, da disciplina e harmonia social, e como fundamento de toda a ordem política pela sua agregação e representação na frequesia e no município" (*Constituição* 1936: 9—"source of conservation and development of the race, as the primary basis of education, o social harmony and discipline, and as the foundation of all political order due to its membership and its representation at the level of the parish and the municipality"). Being at the center of family life, women are logically, then, the cornerstone of nation and empire; these terms became almost interchangeable in the official rhetoric of Salazar's government. More to the point, nation and empire become constitutive of the mythology of "o bom povo português" ("the good-natured Portuguese people"), as Jorge Dias once called it (Thomaz 2001).

To ensure that women stay put in that most strategic of places that is the family home for such a supposedly "good-natured" people, Salazar endows them with a condition of difference in an exception to Article 5 of the Constitution of the New State. "Woman" is excepted from equality before the law due to "diferenças resultantes da sua natureza e do bem da família" ("the differences that result from her nature and the welfare of the family"); and, alongside her, others are also barred from equality before the law due to a "diversidade das circunstâncias e a natureza das coisas" ("diversity of circumstances and the nature of things") (*Constituição* 1936: 5). Women and those vague, undisclosed "others," which could include anyone deemed "different" by the regime, thus share a structurally comparable exclusion from the rights of citizenship.

The concept of "rights of citizenship" is a paradox in a fascist state, but one cultivated throughout the tenure of the New State: inasmuch as women

were considered the moral guardians of the family through their role as mothers, mediators of culture and educators, they would presumably hold up and ensure the reproduction of the ideology of difference operative in the fascist nation-state. This is a point that merits special emphasis, since, for all the historiographical and memorialist recovery of Salazar and the New State in recent years, the ideology of women's difference has not specifically been considered as a determinant factor in the long maintenance of the regime, what Fernando Rosas calls "A arte de saber durar" (2013—"The art of knowing how to last"). This is not to state that there are no authoritative, well-informed works on the topic of women and Salazar and the New State (e.g. Belo et al. 1987; Cova and Pinto; Pimentel 2001, 2011). But from what official documents and archival materials can document, to what and how literature represents "*lived* experience"—to echo Ramos do Ó's phrase cited earlier—there is a distance, not so much related to truth as to varied interpretations of official messages in the context of so-called historial reality.

The following will thus peruse how a number of very different writers who were mobilized at least as potential agents of empire "in the feminine" negotiated with ideologies of gender in their representations of empire, the concept of the so-called Bigger Portugal, and the challenges of colonialism during the onset and first phase of Salazar's New State and, subsequently, in the post-World War II period. As if appropriating what English poet Rudyard Kipling called in 1899 the White Man's Burden, their works impart gender-inflected lessons of colonialism aimed, before anything else, at metropolitan "natives" or what Ann Stoler, following Foucault, calls "the enemies within" (1995). They include the women who could ideally save, but would more likely compromise or simply ignore, the simultaneously economic, political and moral question of Portuguese colonialism in Africa.

"Good Homemakers" for the Imperial Nation

The most common colonial narrative pursued by women centers on the lives of an old breed of "degenerate" men who fled to an African colony in search of personal riches and not with the social, nationalist intent of building a settler colony. Marking a pedagogical contrast to this older generation, presumably representative of the Republican period (1910–1926), there emerges in this plot line the strong, regenerated, nationalist colonial of the future; and, by his side, the regenerated, eugenic Portuguese wife-mother.

Of possible eugenic inspiration, the regeneration narrative promotes the patriarchal, family-based therapeutics of colonialism for an emasculated, despondent "race."[5] A semblance of precise historical and geographical

context is offered through the integration in the main plot of mostly short (but at times tediously long) disquisitions on colonial history or descriptions of the land, and notes on the human and symbolic cultures of a given colony. These normally appear in scenes where the female protagonist visits the immediate surroundings of the colonial homestead. The colonized only appear superficially as part of the African natural background, as specimens of exotic cultural practices or as stock characters of loyal servants or serpent-like, dangerous seductresses. Examples of this type of colonial literature are found in Fernanda de Castro, *O veneno de sol* (1928—*The Sun's Poison*); Virgínia Vitorino, *Degredados* (drama, 1930—*Expatriated*); Maria Amélia Rodrigues, *Adão e Eva: Romance colonial* (1932—*Adam and Eve: A Colonial Novel*); and Amália de Proença Norte, *Em Portugal e em África: romance colonial* (1934—*In Portugal and Africa: A Colonial Novel*).[6] For purposes of cohesion, we will concentrate primarily on Maria Amélia Rodrigues's novel *Adão e Eva*, disqualified from the Colonial Literature Prize but awarded an honorary prize for its literary value (in Pedro 2003; 104).

The novel brings to light the discursive grid informing the current of colonial literature that began to circulate after the announcement of the Colonial Literature Prize in 1926, during the military dictatorship that laid the groundwork for Salazar's New State. By "discursive grid" I have in mind the convergence during the period of nationalist discourses of empire, encouraging settler colonialism, and discourses of nation, promoting a new family morality and having the woman-mother at home as its main pedagogical ideal. Aside from illustrating the necessary interconnection between empire and domesticity in a fascist-colonialist state, Rodrigues's novel expresses the anxiety of a colonialism that proceeds belatedly and with a painful consciousness of its vulnerabilities and deficiencies—a colonialism of and by not-haves.

The scene of *Adão e Eva* that is most compelling from historical as well as metafictional perspectives presents a social gathering in Têle, Mozambique, in which a small number of more or less well-to-do men, among them the colonial governor, talk about the problems of the colony. The governor bitterly reproaches the Portuguese for being unable to defend their territories from foreigners who impute them with carelessness and lack of organization, and accuse them of continuing practices of slavery.

> Nós somos, mais que outra coisa, descobridores e soldados. Como seremos *boas donas de casa*? A hora presente é dos que organizam. Professores, engenheiros, padres, industriais ... a hora presente é a dos que oferecem à Pátria a vida aos poucos [...]. (Rodrigues 1932: 115; emphasis in original)

(We are discoverers and soldiers more than anything else. How are we to be *good homemakers*? The current times are for those who organize. Teachers, engineers, priests, manufacturers... The times are for those who offer their lives little by little to the fatherland [...].)

The governor goes on to assert that, rather than allow that "illiterates and addicts" immigrate to Africa, the Portuguese government should encourage healthy men with wives and children to do so by facilitating their travel and offering them farm land. The idea is not so original: in 1921 and 1922, Angola's governor, Norton de Matos, had already proposed a subsidy for families, meant to encourage white settler colonialism in the colony (Dias 1947: 21–22).[7] One of the characters surrounding the governor approves the idea, exclaiming, "A mulher branca é, também, um factor de civilização!..." (Rodrigues 1932: 116—"The white woman is also an element of civilization! ...").[8] Evading a direct response to the provocative comment about the role of women in empire, the governor retorts half-heartedly that the literary prizes instituted by the General Agency of the Colonies, along with other government initiatives—it is not by chance he calls them "reactions"—may help foster much-needed colonization (116).

Criticisms of colonial society and of Portuguese colonialism in Africa are not out of line in colonial literature, as shown in some of the works of Henrique Galvão (1895–1970), its most famous and prolific author and initially an enthusiastic supporter of Salazar's regime. Critiques of colonial administration or of social mores in the colonies serve to demonize the Republican period under which the presumed irregularities developed due, supposedly, to laxity of customs and anti-clericalism. Rodrigues's *Adão e Eva* in fact denounces the scarcity of Portuguese Catholic missions and the consequent exposure of colonial subjects to the influence of foreign protestant missions (1932: 60–70). Such criticisms prepare the ground for the introduction of the nationalist-fascist pedagogy of colonialism, domesticity and empire over and above the colonial regeneration romance that served as its vehicle. In other words, by way of counter-examples, represented both through characters' actions and words, and through what others say about them, colonial literature presents a critique not of colonialism and, much less, of empire per se, but rather of the problems that accounted for the weaknesses of the Portuguese colonies in Africa vis-à-vis other European empires. As with any other institutionalized fascist discourse, through simplistic and reductive enunciations, colonial discourse aimed to "offer convictions" to live by so as to "regenerate and form the spirit" (Proença 1997: 35).

As suggested before, colonial discourses cannot however be read in isolation of those on women and the family that were disseminated concurrently with the overall goal of national regeneration. Both are part of the broader colonialist turn that marks the specificity of Salazar's New State (in relation to other fascist states) and respond to the same government effort to centralize, homogeneize and thereby control the three main loci of national life—home, nation and empire—as mutually constitutive parts of the same organic whole. This is done, I would furthermore argue, through the ideological linchpin of the "boa dona de casa" ("good homemaker") model, something that not only compels the collaboration of women writers but that lends special significance to their constructions of the duty of colonial life for the "right" Portuguese women.

In the passage of Rodrigues's novel quoted earlier, the governor's mobilization of an apparently transgendered leadership role with the question "Como seremos *boas donas de casa*?" ("How are we to be *good homemakers*?") may not be so surprising if one bears in mind that as early as 1928, in a speech delivered to officials of the Military Garrison of Lisbon, Salazar identified his form of government with that of any "good homemaker":

> Advoguei sempre uma política de administração, tão clara e tão simples como a pode fazer qualquer boa dona de casa—política comezinha e modesta que consiste em se gastar bem o que se possui e não se despender mais do que os próprios recursos. (Salazar 1945: I, 11)
>
> (I have always defended a politics of administration as clear and simple as any good homemaker can do—a modest and frugal politics that consists in spending well what one has and not spending more than one's own resources.)

Such a pose, or the feminine identification that it compels, cannot be taken lightly if we consider that the dictator would return in a 1933 speech to eulogize the virtue of the diligent homemaker, who leaves work outside the home for men:

> Assim temos como lógico na vida social e como útil à economia a existência regular da família do trabalhador; temos como fundamental que seja o trabalhador que a sustente; defendemos que o trabalho da mulher casada e geralmente até o da mulher solteira, integrada na família e sem a responsabilidade da mesma, não deve ser fomentado; nunca houve nenhuma boa dona de casa que não tivesse imenso que fazer. (Salazar 1945: I, 201)

> (We thus consider logic for social life and useful for the economy the regular existence of the (male) worker's family; we consider fundamental that the (male) worker supports it; we defend the argument that the work of the married woman and generally even that of the single woman, within her family and without responsibility for it, must not be encouraged; there has never been a good homemaker that did not have an enormous amount of work to do.)

What became the most famous phrase of this speech—"Nunca houve nenhuma boa dona de casa que não tivesse imenso que fazer" ("There has never been a good homemaker who has not had a lot of work to do")—is symptomatically not included in the abridged version translated by Robert Edgar Broughton and included in the 1939 volume, *Doctrine and Action: Internal and Foreign Policy of the New Portugal 1928–1939*. In this version, evidently produced for an English-speaking public, Salazar's position on the family, and hence on women, appears under the section "New Economic Principles." Notably, the home, provided the woman is there working in it and for it, is considered the fundamental basis of productive labor:

> When we refer to the family what we have in mind is the home; and when we speak of the home we mean its moral environment and its function as an independent economic unit which both consumes and produces. Women's work outside the family disintegrates home life, spearates its different members, and makes them strangers to each other. Life in common disappears; the work of educating children suffers in consequence, and families become smaller [...]. (Salazar 1939: I, 161–62).

As already perused at the beginning of Chapter I, the prescription for the woman's role in the family is announced as early as 1913 in Salazar's "Cartas a uma mãe" (1912–1913—"Letters to a mother"), written when he was still a student at the University of Coimbra. The directive would be visually rendered by 1938 in the propaganda poster titled "A lição de Salazar: Deus, Pátria, Família: a trilogia da educação nacional" ("Salazar's Lesson: God, Fatherland, Family—the Trilogy of National Education"). The famous poster, which was hung in schools and on public walls, illustrates Salazar's home-based national economy, a model that would naturally apply to the whole of the nation-empire. It leaves no doubt as to his early determination to clean up the morality of the then Republican nation (in 1913) by proposing the role that women should play in it. The "good homemaker" is, indeed, the homebound maternal housewife and educator. The wide currency of the concept by the late 1920s and early 1930s is, in fact, signaled in the colonial

novel under review by the phrase *boas donas de casa* (appearing in italics in the original), that is, the author assumes that readers would likely recognize the official message informing the governor's rhetorical question.

It is not surprising that a number of educated women embraced the calculated appropriation by Salazar and like-minded conservatives of a concept that Maria Amália Vaz de Carvalho (1842–1921) had championed in *Cartas a uma noiva* (*Letters to a Bride*) to describe a homely, altruistic form of social organization and economic administration (Carvalho 1891). It is telling that Carvalho's book enjoyed multiple editions from its publication in 1891 until 1979. The genre seems to have appealed to those who distanced themselves from feminism, or from the derogatory image of the feminist as a manly woman, in circulation since the turn of century, as mentioned in Chapter 1. The anti-feminist discourses that increased in the first decades of the twentieth century as women gained greater visibility that includes published writings (Baltazar 2011; Ferreira 2001) ironically made their way to the first colonial novel published by a woman, *O veneno de sol* (1928—*The Sun's Poison*) by Fernanda de Castro (1900–1994).[9] According to feminist lawyer Elina Guimarães, Salazar's regime denounced feminism publicly in July 1928 as the second Feminist Congress on Women and Education was being held, alleging that the emphasis on the women's right to vote discouraged women from fulfilling the roles of wives and mothers (2002: 12). That only three years later, in 1931, he went on to give women with at least a high school education the right to vote is not so paradoxical: Salazar's aim, as that of other dictators, was to mobilize the support of conservative, church-going, educated women whom he saw as his potential mouthpieces on women and the family within the context of nationalist education (Pimentel 2001: 30–32). In this vein, Fernanda de Castro's *Mariazinha em África* (*Little Mary in Africa*), a novel for adolescents published originally in 1925, became a bestseller, enjoying multiple editions that were slighty revised in agreement with changing colonial politics (Augel 2007: 131).

It is hence not by chance that a stock anti-exemplary character of colonial novels is the so-called modern woman who is equivocally identified with the feminist—a vain and idle, thoughtless and materialist, foreign-looking urban marionette, sometimes imputed to have a questionable sexual morality. In Henrique Galvão's award-winning *O velo d'oiro* (1931—*The Golden Fleece*), the most widely read colonial novel and a good example of what is most appalling about the genre (i.e. racism, sexism, classism), the modern woman is so demonized as to catch syphilis from a restaurant waiter with whom she has secretly had sex. Her punishment is to marry him and become an outcast in her socioeconomic class. As will be discussed subsequently,

none of the women who write colonial literature reach Galvão's sinister moralizing, which is not to say that they are not equally prejudiced. Their modern or "advanced" women characters end up, for the most part, getting a husband of their own class or who has bought himself a position in a higher class by way of honest work in an African colony. The distorted figure of the feminist brings to light, then, by pedagogical contrast, the future "good homemaker" into which she may finally transform herself. Her regeneration is the result of both domestication and nationalization by a "good" man as opposed to the fashionable dandy who courted her in Lisbon. The victor is generally much older, unattractive and lacking foreign-influenced cultural charms, but touts a record of hard work in the African colony where he will live with his future family. This is the type of man whom the colonial novel teaches women to desire as husbands, against romantic illusions or, even worse, illusions of freedom identified with disaggregating feminist ideas. Some textual examples are in order.

What characteristically calls out in most of the works is a varying degree of ambiguity between what appears to be the simplistic following of plot and character conventions of the colonial novel and exagerating them to the point of parody. This is certainly the case with the famous play by Virgínia Vitorino, *Degredados* (1931—*Expatriated*). The flamboyant female protagonist finally comes around to appreciate the high moral character of her husband in contrast to that of her old boyfriend, a crook who sells out to Belgians with investments in Benguela (Angola); her name is, quite ironically, Joaninha, recalling the naïve character in Almeida Garrett's *Viagens na minha terra* (1846—translated by John M. Parker as *Travels in My Homeland* [2008]). Maria Amélia Rodrigues's *Adão e Eva* presents the circuitous process leading the protagonist, Margarida, to finally submit to her husband's love for her and the African land. A wise strategist, he takes her back to Lisbon to enjoy her past social life, including seeing her good-for-nothing former boyfriend, so that she can confront the superficiality of it all and willingly embrace married life as a colonist in Tête (Mozambique). Lídia da Fonseca's short story "Três décadas" (1941—"Three Decades") shows the progressive transformation of a young man from a cynical critic of the state's colonialist discourse—he even pokes fun of colonial literature—to an enthusiastic colonist, so totally integrated in his settler life that he no longer wants to visit his old mother and sister who have remained in the metropole.

As in other novels and short stories of colonial theme written by women, of which we will study a different kind in the next chapter, the young female protagonists tend to be pushed into marriages of convenience by one or both of their parents to save their families from economic ruin. They appear to belong to the upper middle class, but their family is impoverished due to

the death of a father and/or to lives misspent in gambling and vice. The plot depends, before anything else, in setting up a simplistic, pedagogical contrast between Portugal, more specifically, Lisbon, and a given city in an African colony. While the metropole is depicted as a comfortable and civilized but dangerous site of debauchery, the colony emerges as a torrid, wild and inhospitable but ultimately generous land of salvation. The idea is emblematized in the title of Manuel de Jesus Pinto, *África redentora* (1939—*Redeeming Africa*) and is consistently played out in the gendered opposition between degenerate metropole and regenerative colony.

While the attribution of negative "feminine" qualities can also be imputed on the African land which, with the hard work of the colonist, will be domesticated, all writers committed to the colonialist message tend to convey the same prescription for the renewal of a male-centered social order, touting the values of hard work, strength, intelligence and virility to domesticate the wild, whether in the colonies or the metropole. Hence, in Fernanda de Castro's *O veneno de sol* (1928—*The Sun's Poison*), a "terra máscula, onde é preciso uma luta para cada triunfo" ("manly land, where a fight is needed for each victory"). Castro opposes converting that colonial "manly land" into the supposedly Republican-perverted "terra feminina da metrópole onde a própria vida tem o sabor do fracasso" (183—"feminine land of the metropole where one's very life has the taste of defeat"). In Virgínia Vitorino's play *Degredados* (*Expatriated*), Manuel, of humble and rural birth, who has come to Benguela (in Angola) not to escape moral vices but to help his old mother after his father passed away, tells the conceited Joaninha that in Lisbon men are devoid of their manhood while in the African colony "até d'um cão, se tem isto assim de fibra, se faz uma pessoa decente" (71—"even from a dog, if it has this much of (moral) fiber, a decent person can be made"). Later in the play and referring to Joaninha's brother, who came to Angola to escape the gambling and drug addiction that lost his family's fortune, the humble Manuel adds the propagandistic notion that "África rehabilita as pessoas" (155—"Africa rehabilitates people"). Such a characterization of the colonies in terms of robust, therapeutic promise suggests that those who nurture and develop the land save not only themselves and those around them but represent hope for the empire itself.

Henrique Galvão presses the gendered colonialist message further in *O velo d'oiro*, where the African land is described as a wild, mysterious, hard-to-conquer, female-like entity. At the beginning of the novel, the male protagonist imagines it as "bravia e emaranhada, coberta de flores palpitantes, de mistérios, ardente e dominadora" (9—"wild and entangled, covered by palpitating flowers, mysteries, ardent and domineering"). At the end, he has learned that the colonist needs to take hold of the African lands

progressively, "com trabalho e inteligência, com ordem e bom senso. [...] e o sentimento viril das possibilidades mais nítido e expressivo" (265—"with work and intelligence, with order and good sense [...] and the virile feeling of the possibilities clearer and more expressive"). The problem is that for colonialism to be understood in terms of settler colonialism, women must be present as men's helpmates in that "progressive" taming of the wild land.

The scarcity of Portuguese women in the colonies is something that not only the colonial novel but a series of colonialist tracts published between the early 1920s and the late 1940s frequently point out. These texts would likely impress upon its contemporary readers patriotic guilt. Just as a point of contrast, one should note that, by 1925, there were about 3,158 Belgian women living in the Congo, mostly as a result of the founding of L'Union des Femme Coloniales two years before. The objective of the group was to serve the colony in educational and health assistance projects (Jacques and Piette 2004: 98). Such an example of women hailing (and, one would assume, performing) the so-called civilizing mission in a colony that, before 1908, had no cultural meaning for the Belgian people must have been hard for those born into a historically imperialist culture, as is the case with the Portuguese, to ignore. That predicament is evoked by the old father of the protagonist of *Adão e Eva* when he reminds his friends that "a mulher branca é também um factor de civilização" (Rodrigues 1932: 116—"white women are also an element of civilization"). In the Portuguese context, as will be discussed further in the next chapter, it appears that women were not only scarce but were also largely indifferent to living in the colonies and/or performing the role expected of European colonists.

In that social gathering in Rodrigues's novel, while the men consider the colonial governor's hard points on the deficiencies of Portuguese colonialism, the women, in a separate group, carelessly make racist remarks about the servants. One of them, more enlightened and compassionate than the others, refuses to condone such talk, attributing the indigenous people's supposed primitivism to colonial women's own failure to teach them the ways of civilization, due to their own lack of education. Appalled by the corrective, the others call her "petrófila" ("blacklover"); and one of them quickly changes the conversation to the dresses that should be arriving from Paris (Rodrigues 1932: 106–07). Imported feminine luxuries are frequently mentioned in colonial novels written by women, who, as their nineteenth-century percursors, criticize the superficiality, indulgence and ignorance of their gender and class peers who abstract themselves from the problems assailing society.

With the exception of that brief scene, there is however no suggestion in colonial novels of what women should do once they move to an African

colony to be part of a settler family. The latter would substitute the old colonials, whom Virgínia Vitorino characterizes as "expatriated" because they saw the colony as a strange, inhospitable land. They had fled to Africa attracted by the myth of quick riches that Henrique Galvão exposed in *O velo d'oiro*. In *O veneno do sol*, Fernanda de Castro uses the metaphor of sun poison to dramatize the degradation that most Europeans suffer in Bolama, Guinea, as if nature itself were responsible for encouraging corruption, vice and, above all, the immorality of miscegenation. A white schoolteacher's relationship with a black man not only merits her the label "hysterical," but leads the local colonial government to open an investigation into the matter (Castro 1928: 91–95). Were enough women from the metropole to settle in the colonies, they would presumably put a halt to such treacherous affairs, not only the sexual ones but those including business deals with foreign concessioners, something that Virgínia Vitorino, for example, also denounces (96). We might be reminded of Anne McClintock's suggestion that, in colonial discourse, "[i]llicit money and illicit sexuality were seen to relate to each other by negative analogy to race" (1995: 44).

Even if such a moral intervention in colonial life were possible through a new colonial home front based on the family unit and identified with the prospect of national regeneration, it stood to reason that the Portuguese colonies would still lag behind other European colonies. Beyond the economic inability to carry forth projects of development and appropriate exploitation of natural resources that would require skilled workers, "colonialism," as understood in the context of late empire in the terms set forth by industrialized European nations, meant bringing civilization to the indigenous. And this is where women would theoretically have an important, even decisive, role to play, beginning with their work as maternal teachers and nurturers not only of their own children but, by extension, of supposedly child-like African men and women. As the colonial novel plainly shows, women whose concerns in life were limited to comfort and fashion, love and social showing off—all the negative effects of civilization in European metropolitan urban centers—could hardly fulfill that role.

The African Native Between Colonial Fetish and Anti-colonial Symptom

The first and most consistently produced type of colonial literature, associated primarily with male authors, privileges the representation of African cultural practices and native behaviors as indices of a supposedly mysterious psyche.[10] It is a literature that imaginatively confronts the challenge of how to colonize and administer huge extensions of land whose

peoples appeared incomprehensible to European norms and who resisted their control. Their otherness is constructed in a deliberate pedagogical vein in the travel narrative *Pretos e brancos* (*Blacks and Whites*), published in 1926 by former High Commissioner in Mozambique and prolific regionalist writer Manuel Brito Camacho (1862–1934). The book aimed to be "uma obra de Arte que esconde um plano administrativo digno de pôr em acção, mesmo se (ao que parece) não é mais do que um ponto de vista sobre [...] a política colonial" (Camacho 1926: 6—"a work of Art that conceals an administrative plan worthy of being put into action, even if [it appears] as no more than a point of view on [...] colonial politics"). The administrative plan here in view contemplates colonial race relations from the privileged position of a naturalized racist and colonial worldview that does not, however, at least in theory, tolerate the inhuman treatment of the colonized. Camacho's book was awarded second place in the Colonial Literature Prize that began that year.

Whether or not candidates for the Colonial Literature Prize, between 1926 and 1951 such typically Eurocentric, racist representations of Africans and their cultures circulated during a period of increasing anti-colonial mobilization. On one hand, the Pan-African Congress, first convoked in 1910, met again in 1921, 1923, 1927 and, later, in 1945, with the objective of ending colonialism, racism and abuses of human rights ("Pan-African Congress"). The third (1923) meeting was held in London, although apparently it had been planned for Lisbon, where the Partido Nacional Africano (African National Party) had been founded two years earlier (*The Marcus Garvey* 2006: 15–16; 131–33; 544–45). In addition, in 1927, the League Against Imperialism and Anti-colonial Oppression was founded in Brussels with the participation of numerous intellectuals, artists and scientists, Albert Einstein among them. In this context, the international community repeatedly denounced the legitimacy of Portuguese colonialism on the grounds that it continued practices of slavery. These denuncations led to the investigation by American sociologist Edward A. Ross, whose report to the League of Nations in 1925 caused much consternation in Portuguese government circles.[11] "The Portuguese Are Not Incompetent Colonizers" is the title of an article published in 1926 by Ernesto Vasconcelos, an official of the Colonial Ministry. "Reply to the Accusations Addressed to the League of Nations by Mr. Edward A. Ross" is another lengthy rebuke of the Ross Report, written by Oliveira Santos and circulated in English after 1930 (Allina 1997: 15–16n25). There were also other perhaps less cynical or defensive responses from presumed experienced colonials themselves. Such are the cases of writers Guilhermina de Azeredo (1894–1976) and Maria Archer (1899–1982), both of whom had lived in African colonies for several years before returning

to the metropole. Each in her way, they appropriate the fantasized image of the tribal African man to impart moral lessons against the violence of colonialism. James Clifford describes it as the trope of the "vanishing primitive" populating the "ethnographic fictions" of such anthropologists as Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead and Edward Sapir (Clifford 2010: 101–15). Maria Archer's representations of Africans would, in time, be compared to that of Benedict and Mead (Prefácio, Freyre 1963: 10), but Guilhermina de Azeredo, winner of the second prize for colonial literature in 1935, also engages with the "vanishing primitive" in her short story collection, *Feitiços* (Fetishes).

Azeredo's stories explore the polysemy of arguably the most pervasive trope of cultural and racial demonization—fetishism. Azeredo uses it to monumentalize the difference between Europeans and the African peoples who, since the times of early expansion by the Portuguese, were theoretically brought under Western power and knowledge. But her use of the trope also provokes consideration of the common humanity everyone shares regardless of race, thus her representation of cases of colonial violence does not challenge the regime. There is never the suggestion that, structurally, racist violence is inherent in colonialism. In 1956, Azeredo would go on to publish the collection of short stories, *Brancos e negros* (*Whites and Blacks*), which was also awarded a literary prize by the government's Agência Geral do Ultramar, Fernão Mendes Pinto.

The title story, reinforced by the other stories in the volume, illuminates the conflict between two or more sets of cultural values that are mutually unintelligible, leading to the attribution of fetishism, or *feitiço*, to an object, person, social practice or idea (McClintock 1995: 185). By enacting the compulsive repetition of such an attribution, Azeredo's stories call attention to the relation between the hypothetical fetishes out there, described in the African colonies as *Terras do feitiço* (*Lands of the Fetish*), the title of Henrique Galvão's 1934 short story collection, and the fetish of empire. If the empire itself became a fetish for Europeans at the time, for those in Salazar's regime the fantasy of the great mysterious empire compensated for the smallness and meakness of Portugal itself (Vieira 2010: 139). In an adventure romance of nationalist rebirth titled *O feitiço do império* (1940), Joaquim Mota Jr went as far as suggesting a comparison between that fantasy empire and the United States, the birthplace of its protagonist. A film of the same title, directed by António Lopes Ribeiro and also released in 1940, would go on to magnify the personal and collective value of nationalist reintegration through that fantasy empire, in tune with Salazar's monumental Portuguese World Exhibition (cf. Vieira 2013: 99–202). One cannot, however, the film, *O feitiço do império*, and project unto it the anthropological construction

circulating in the 1930s of the African primitive and man and his culture as "fetish." Maria Archer's and especially Azeredo's fascination with the African fetish are not meant simply as propaganda—as was obviously the case with the 1940s texts referred above. On the contrary, their suggestion overall is that the *feitiço* is alternatively on the side of the colonized or on the side of the colonizer, depending on the point of view of cultural difference that is adopted.

The stories in *Feitiços* call attention to the effects of Portuguese colonial policy, specifically the Indigenous By-Laws of 1926, differentiating between "indigenous" and "assimilated" colonial subjects, and the Work Code for Indigenous Populations (1928), which introduced the ploy of contractual labor. The narratives refer to how institutions of catechism, alphabetization and forced or contractual labor—all basic to the acquisition of the status of "assimilated"—disrupted the harmony of tribal life by instilling the white man's "feitiço" of civilization. For the indigenous, then, the fetish or poison is brought by the white man. But the problem that seems to preoccupy the author is the coercion exercised on Africans to work supposedly "freely" in what they bitterly describe as "the white man's land" beyond the stipulated contract period (theoretically for payment for hut taxes). Cyclical periods of hunger due to weather conditions and, in the case of women, also due to their status as the property of men are shown to play into that coercion, as evinced by those who continue to pay off their ongoing debt by submitting to exploitative and dehumanizing labor, cultivating African land for the benefit of the colonizer (Azeredo 1935).[12]

Examples of unjust labor compulsion are the cases of Pintari, the protagonist of the homonymous story, and the concubine of the white master in the story "Chiromba." The first, a young man, earns his freedom from slavery into which he was sold by his mother in times of hunger, and "makes himself a man" by working for the colonials. Just like others compelled to go away from their villages, or *quimbos*, as contracted laborers, all he wishes is to return home, but, when he does, he is a stranger both in mind and appearance. His individualism and his buying power, capitalist spells or *feitiços* from "the white's land," isolate him from his tribe and village life in general. He can only leave, again and again, at least during the rainy season.[13] Tribal women, despite their apparent power as agricultural workers and as guardians of native culture, as seen in the stories "Feitiços" and "No tempo da garápa" ("In Times of Plenty"), are also lured to abandon their native villages and their local masters to serve the white man, the latter's *feitiço* leading to the African women's downfall (Azeredo 1935: 89) in more ways than one, as exemplified by the story of Chiromba. Her sacrificial death, caused not by a threatening alligator in the river but by an (accidental?) shot

from her master's pistol, is symbolic of how the colonizer uses, controls and potentially disposes of the native when no longer needed—Chiromba had already given him a son. In the story "Vingança" ("Vengeance"), a first person narrative addressed to a white and apparently accusing interlocutor, the defendant refers to the "whiteness of the black man's heart" (180) to suggest that "the black man" is innocent of seeking retribution for the white man's crimes against him. Such crimes amount to the fascist-colonialist ideology ironically evoked in another short story with the phrase "the grandiose work of colonization" (Azeredo 1935: 105—"a grandiosa obra da colonização").

It is not a coincidence that the story in question, titled "Liamba," appears in the middle of the eleven-story volume.[14] It can be read as an extended critical commentary on the model of the Portuguese home, with rural values constituting the homogenizing moral backbone of the nation-empire. For the African native to work toward the desirable status of "assimilated," he is compelled first of all to have a regular, productive job domesticating the African land so as to convert it "num pequeno Portugal cultivadinho até ao cimo dos montes" (Azeredo 1935: 106—"in a little Portugal farmed all the way to the top of the hills").[15] Then he would have to be alphabetized and follow the colonizers' religion and social customs. This would include exchanging polygamy (as seen, for example, in the stories "No Tempo da Garápa" and "A Fome") for a marriage celebrated in a Catholic church and becoming the main breadwinner outside the home. Being constrained to mimic the Western, specifically fascist Portuguese, model of manhood is thus the tragedy that befalls the protagonist of the story "Liamba." He works as one of the two foremen overseeing contracted laborers from different tribes, but he cannot live with himself for contributing to the violence perpetrated by the "madness" of the colonizer—"Que doido o branco!" (106—"How crazy the white (man is)!"), he exclaims.

The scene presents a sort of idealistic, panoptical time-space of successful colonization, with an African man coming home at the end of a day's work to dinner prepared by a presumably stay at home wife-mother.[16] But soon enough, in the privacy of the hut, the protagonist, whose nickname, not coincidentally, is "Canivete" ("Pocket Knife"), is frozen-framed in an anachronistic space suggesting an evolutionary regression to a primitive form of life (McClintock 1995: 36–45). He is said to take on the semblance of "um canibal feroz" ("a ferocious cannibal") and is described with an accumulation of all the demonizing traits of the racist stereotype—indolence, slyness, emasculation and weakness due to intoxication with alcohol or other substances. What is interesting here is that Azeredo represents the character smoking *liamba* purposely to allow him to hallucinate with the paradisiacal life of a rich chief, with numerous wives and enjoying the view

of a bountiful, uncultivated land. It can be surmised that Canivete's death, in the fire that his drug-induced state provokes, is the suicide of a man who has betrayed himself and his people by becoming an instrument of the colonizer's "grandiose"—that is, criminal—project of colonization.

In contrast to Azeredo's self-effacing art of showing, Maria Archer opts to tell, summarize, report and interpret in a personal, emotive voice. Although denied the Colonial Literature Prize for her semi-ethnographic work, *África selvagem* (1935—*Wild Africa*), she was awarded the 1938 Maria Amália Vaz de Carvalho Prize by the Service of National Propaganda for *Viagem á roda de África* (*Voyage Around Africa*), an adventure novel for young readers. She was obviously well respected for her colonial writings as indicated by the fact that she was the only woman to publish seven monographs in the Cadernos Coloniais (Colonial Notebooks) series. Published between 1935 and 1941 by a commercial editor, Cosmos, joining in the colonial propaganda frenzy of the period, they were forty-page booklets intended for the general public about the different peoples and cultures of the Portuguese empire, with emphasis on the African colonies. Maria Archer's "cadernos coloniais," like *África selvagem*, capitalize on what to the European colonial imagination of the time was the cultural fetish of the indigenous as the "vanishing primitive" (Clifford 1986: 112). She argues the social Darwinist theory that a specimen of the original *anthropos* was to be found in the tribal, non-assimilated African. This becomes the basis of her anti-colonial pleas that are nonetheless mediated by and perform in detail the fundamental duplicity of fascist culture.

África selvagem (1935) opens with a series of stories that purports to translate Bantu folklore into the tone, rhythms and theme of women's malice, a theme of Portuguese traditional oral culture. This prepares the reader to consider that, as shown by the transculturated Bantu fables, there is a basic commonality of human emotion between the so-called savage and the civilized. The argument runs through the subsequent interpretative essays, starting with "Os bárbaros" ("The barbarians"). Archer seems to be inspired by Sigmund Freud's *Totem and Tabu*, to prove with examples of local folklore emphasizing magic, supernatural or instinctive forms of understanding and action that "a estranha psique negra" ("the strange negro psyche") holds the "mistério da préhistoria" (1950: 169—"mistery of prehistory").

Based on the narratives that she collected orally and subsequently recreated in writing, Archer argues that the "negro psyche" represents an anterior stage of the human psyche. On this basis, she pleads for the reader's understanding that "para além da mão de obra indígena, para além do bárbaro domesticado, estua no negro um homem igual aos outros homens"

(207—"beyond indigenous labour, beyond the domesticated barbarian, a man equal to other men stirs within the negro"). She therefore cannot but denounce the "civilizing mission" proffered by "todas as raças brancas que colonizam a Africa" ("all the white races that colonize Africa"). The latter would have only introduced such evils as "pólvora, aguardente, epidemias, chicote, dinheiro e seus malefícios, trabalho compelido, impostos ..." (237—"gun powder, firewater, epidemics, whip, money and its wickedness, forced labor, taxes ..."). Despite the much-needed and still rare "words of justice" that, according to Archer, her work offers on behalf of negro people (238), she admits that this is all she can do for them. She consequently disavows what, in the text, could pass for knowledge, and for access to the intimacy and thinking of the African man. Although it may evoke the founding colonial myth of the impossibility of representing strange lands and peoples (Boehmer 1995: 94–95), Archer's disavowal implies the defeat of colonialism: "O inviolado segredo africano, boceta de Pandora, onde não há esperança para a raça branca, a raça formosa que se divinizou no mundo" (1935: 253—"The unbroken secret of Africa, Pandora's box, where there is no hope for the white race, the beautiful race that has made itself divine in the world").

Between the artistic reinvention of Bantu folklore that opens *África selvagem* and the essays in cultural interpretation that follow there is a curious ambiguity as to the didactic value of "a esfinge negra" ("the black sphinx"). Considering the author's investment in the psychoanalytical and anthropological views of so-called primitive man, her humanitarian preoccupation with opposing the barbarism of colonial practices tends to an intellectualism that, although understandable in view of censorship, potentially neutralizes her anti-colonial message. In another Caderno Colonial, *Angola Filme*, published two years later in 1937, the same colonial–anti-colonial wavering appears in a yet more ostensible way, with Maria Archer's characteristic sententiousness playing upon the visual culture that was at the center of colonial propaganda particularly and fascist propaganda in general.

The text presents a narrative overview of Portuguese imperialism from the vantage point of one of its most important colonies, Angola. The perspective is consistent with that described by Mary Louise Pratt as "the monarch of all I survey" (1992: 201–08), and is typical of the convergence between aesthetics and politics in imperial travel writing (Blunt 1994: 34). The surveying of history, landscapes, cultures and peoples finally converges on a sort of case study of an assimilated African man, whom the writer watches from her hotel window in the city of Luanda. Thus throughout the book, Angola, as synecdoche of the Portuguese empire, is represented

as though the author carried around a movie camera as, incidentally, anthropologists at the time were doing. An introductory section describes from an omniscient perspective a maritime approach to the natural and human landscape of Luanda, followed by a forceful propagandistic harangue about the urgent need to keep and effectively colonize Angola against the threat of British and other European empires. A close-up of a main avenue in downtown Luanda follows; the attention is placed on indigenous figures—again, the anthropological "vanishing primitive"—walking side by side with assimilated Africans. The rest of the book is divided into three chronological sequences, referring to the past as it affects the conditions of the colonized in the present. Portuguese colonialism is thus featured as the hero and simultaneously the villain of *Angola Film*. It is first described as the conquest of lands and people with the consequent destruction of their native cultures; it moves then to scenes of slavery and forced labor overseas and exploitation of the working classes in the metropole; and it is finally represented by the unjust colonial taxation policies and violent mistreatment of natives. The latter is further dramatized by attention to the colonial victim, on whom the writer's "lens" focuses slowly at last.

Angola Filme centers on the story of Mussobine, the narrator's table waiter while she was on a research assignment in Angola and living in a hotel. He was a landowning patriarch in Mozambique before being conscripted into the Portuguese army during World War I. Although a war hero, he was wrongly accused of treason and sent to prison in Angola. After being released, he was so demoralized that he had no courage to go back home. It is unclear whether the table waiter has told the narrator this story or she has invented it from the impression that his gesture and song has left on her memory. As with Archer's other colonial narratives, she disavows knowledge or scientific mastery: what is important are not the historical dates and facts, but the human suffering that, according to the writer's perspective, colonial history originates and perpetuates.

Notwithstanding the humanitarian good intentions that inspire her indictment of such a history, Archer's close-up of the colonized man ultimately bespeaks her complicity not only with that history, but also with the power relations played out in colonial representations. The African man is inevitably cast from the perspective of a hypothetically civilized, enlightened, educated and compassionate colonist occupying a position of assumed knowledge, authorized voice, in short, of command and control. The text in fact dramatizes how colonial relations are never reciprocal, since it is a perspective from above that commands the narrative or the descriptions of landscape that make up *Angola Filme*, for all is ultimately reduced to landscape by the gaze of the writer's admittedly distant imperial

eye. Figures like that of Mussobine shed light on what Gayatri Spivak posits as "the impossible perspective of the native informant" in the colonial text: he is the aporia that the postcolonial critic must confront in the "dredging operation" which constitutes responsible critique (1999: 1). How can it serve to mediate the radical alterity, that is, the silence of the other? As James Clifford observes, there is no way out of the specular movement returning to the writing subject herself (2010: 23–24).

The Authority of Feminine Experience: Women Writers for "Suffering Souls"

Since the early 1990s, critics pursuing the question of gender in colonial discourse have called attention to how women writers tend to represent colonized lands and subjects as well as colonial power relations in complex ways (e.g. Mills 1991; Strobel 1991; Chauduri and Strobel 1992). Studies recovering women's literary constructions of colonized others point to fractures, inversions and ambiguities in relation to imperialist or colonial frames of reference. While women may draw on basically the same conventions and tropes as men do, their positioning themselves in relation to dominant discourses of femininity—to follow Sara Mills's suggestion in *Discourses of Difference*—may "undercut many of the statements that they make" (1991: 94). This would explain enunciations of irony, non-mastery and, above all, a measure of sympathy or sentimental identification with colonized "others," affording moments of self-revelation (Mills 1991: 51; Pratt 1992: 213–15).

Guilhermina de Azeredo and Maria Archer engage critically with colonial discourses fetishizing the racial and cultural other by appealing to the long-established cultural construct of feminine difference as the basis and guarantee of the family, microcosms of the nation. Salazar's much quoted exception of the equality of all citizens before the law stated in Article 5 of the 1933 Constitution of the New State simply resorts to that construct. Azeredo and Archer present two similar versions of sentimental autobiographical poetics *au feminin* that display some divergence as regards their representations of the effects of Portuguese colonialism on African peoples and cultures. Not unlike the nineteenth-century British women writers studied by Reina Lewis (1996), their feminine self-conscious engagement with colonial discourse was instrumental for their professionalization.

If read from the perspective of the anti-colonial humanitarian sentiment gaining ground throughout the 1920 and 1930s, Azeredo's stories suggest a critique of the policy that forced Africans to engage in contract labor as one of the conditions of becoming assimilated. This reading could be supported

by the author's life, considering her education in Switzerland, which included the prestigious Metzingen Institute and the School of Social Work in Lucerne, and her experience living in Benguela, Angola, between 1915 and 1928 (Topa 2010: 5). Considering, however, the official second prize of colonial literature given to *Feitiços*, more than likely the book did not pose a threat to Salazar's colonial politics. After all, she was a spokeswoman for the African colonies for woman's difference and the educating, maternal, compassionate role that women, hypothetically, were to play as colonists—at home and elsewhere where the institution of "the Portuguese home" was found.

Feitiços is prefaced by the writer, critic and colonial government official José Osório de Oliveira (1900–1964), son of the famous feminist of the earlier generation discussed in the previous chapter, Ana de Castro Osório. After stating that his mother had encouraged the author to write in the first place, he denies that there is a difference between "feminine and masculine talents," arguing, however, for a gendered difference in point of view:

> Na observação do negro africano, por exemplo, o homem branco, por maior que seja a sua capaciade de simpatia humana, sempre se deixará influenciar pelo espírito de domínio. A mulher, por natureza e condição, é mais sensível ao sofrimento alheio, e está apta, por isso, a compreender a alma sofredora dos negros. (Oliveira 1935: 13–14)

> (In the observation of the African negro, for example, the white man, no matter how great his capacity for human sympathy, will always let himself be influenced by the spirit of domination. Woman, due to nature and her condition, is more sensitive to others' suffering and, hence, is capable of understanding the negroes' suffering soul.)

Woman's empathy with another "suffering soul"—supposedly thanks to her "nature" and "condition," to quote the New State's Constitution—would enable Azeredo to access a "mystery" that remained closed to those who approached it with "scientific aims" (Oliveira 1935: 14–15). The critic goes on to contrast Azeredo's writing with that of "researchers of African thinking," on the grounds of feminine emotion as well as of experience acquired while living in Benguela (15). This experience would supposedly enable her to be the African man's representative in metropolitan ("white") culture. Osório in fact suggests that Azeredo's epistemological position as a woman is one based on feeling for the other, directly opposed to the typical position of men who aspire to "direct," and hence further add to the suffering of the colonized (15–16).

Maria Archer's comments explaining her renderings of Africans align with that line of thinking, which associates the feminine with the ability

to translate what—echoing the common sense of her time—she calls the "black sphinx" or the "mystery of the black soul" (Ferreira 1996a). As a child, Archer, whose father worked as a manager for various banks' branches, lived in Mozambique for three years and in Guinea for another two years. In a later period, she lived in Mozambique with her husband, from whom she divorced in 1931 after ten years of marriage. It is not until after her divorce, when she went to live in Angola with her parents, that she published her first novel in Luanda. Titled *Três Mulheres* (1935b—*Three Women*), it appears in the same book in which republican journalist Pinto Quartin Praça (1887–1970) published *O estranho caso da Pauling* (*Pauling's Strange Case*). In that same year, she published *África selvagem: folclore dos negros do grupo Bantú* in the Cadernos Coloniais series (Archer 1935a). Since then, she supported herself exclusively by her writing, both journalism and fiction.[17]

Unlike Azeredo, whose "feminine" identity is introduced by a male literary critic, Archer calls the reader's attention to her own feminine difference as a writer. She presents herself as a self-conscious translator–mediator–inventor of the African other and his culture. In addition, she presents herself as an intellectual engaging with one of the epistemological problems of her day, after Sigmund Freud's discovery of the unconscious. The impossibility of apprehending the mystery of the racial other, out there in the "dark continent," mirrors the impossibility of apprehending the mystery of the self, which resorts to the performance of self-invention.

África selvagem opens with a preface in which the author presents herself as a woman confronting the expectations of the literary institution in general and of colonial discourse in particular. It is not thesis and arguments that one expects from a woman writer—she notes—but generous emotions. Since her goal was not to write a "scientific" book, as an ethnologist would, she admits bringing together bits and pieces of other books, written by both scholars and missionaries (Archer 1935: 13–15). A similar disavowal of scientific intention as well as originality is also found in a foonote in *Angola Filme*: "Nota da autora: Estes apontamentos foram escritos com o maior cuidado, mas a autora, que não é historiadora, não garante a precisão das datas que indica, nem a vaeracidades dos informes que colheu" (Archer 1937: 40—"These notes were written with the utmost care; but its author, who is not a historian, does not guarantee the precision of the dates she refers to, nor the truthfulness of the reports that she has collected"). In *África selvagem*, her aim to disseminate "the singularities of Africa" is reportedly moved by what she has learned and by the hope that it will move ("comover") her readers, so as to finally convince them "quanto o negro selvagem, bárbaro nu, desprotegido, retardado em civilização, a

mão de obra das colónias-pensa e sente como homem" (15—"how much the negro in the wild, the naked barbarian, unprotected, held back in civilization, the work force of the colonies—thinks and feels like a man"). It is doubtful whether she was aware of the racist discourse that she echoes and further supports as she insists throughout the volume on denouncing the abuses of the colonizers and on delivering a humanist message.[18] Archer's colonial texts are in fact an illustration of what James Clifford describes as "humanist allegories" characteristic of the cultural ethnographies of the 1930s, whose artistic-literary quality and emotive elements were instrumental for publicist purposes. Anthropologists' search for human and cultural similarities objectified the so-called indigenous by constructing them as text and, thereby, creating "sameness" in an intellectual, abstract sense (Clifford 1986: 115).

That ethnocentric (or white supremacist) lesson appears clearly justified in the fiction of the writerly self living a condition of exile among "Singularidades Africanas" or "African singularities"—to evoke the title of one of her essays. In the mode of a passionate *bricoleuse*, Archer repeatedly notes that her work is neither scientific nor original but the product of readings and impressions.[19] She describes in a particular scene of sentimental projection that first appers in *África selvagem* that both guides and authorizes her writing. The scene intertextually evokes the famous opening phrase of the early modern text *Menina e moça ou livro das saudades* (2012) by Bernardim Ribeiro (1482–1552), translated by Gregory Rabassa as *Maiden and Modest: A Renaissance Pastoral Romance*. It speaks of loss and displacement as the writing subject's inexorable fate—possibly the Jewish subject cryptically represented by the first person narrator of the novel. That opening phrase appears for the first time in *África selvagem*:

> Menina e moça fui para a terra africana. No país do sol vivi anos dilatados, e nele aprendi a conhecer e a estimar, entre os revezes da fortuna vária, a índole benigna dos negros ocultam sob camadas de barbárie.
>
> Por gratidão a esse céu que encheu de luz os meus olhos, e a essa terra que tantos anos me alimentou, por piedade por esse povo atormentado, cuja carne sofredora, cujos privilégios pisados têm sido a alcatifa que afofou a expansão das raças brancas, deixo irromper estas palavras de justiça que só colhem valor da raridade e míngua que os negros hão delas. (Archer 1935a: 238)
>
> (As a little girl and young lady I went to the African land. I lived long years in the country of the sun, and there, amidst changes of fortune,

> I learned to get to know and esteem the good nature that the negros hide below layers of barbarism.
>
> Feeling gratitude for that sky that filled my eyes with light, and for that land that fed me for many years, feeling pity for that tormented people, whose suffering flesh, whose privileges, were stepped on so as to make the expansion of the white race more pleasant, I let out these words of justice whose only value rests on their being rated and on the negros' need for them.)

Bernardim Ribeiro's pastoral novel had three separate editions prepared for different reading publics: it was first edited in Ferrara, Italy, in 1554, by the Portuguese Jew, Abraão Usque; the second edition was published in Évora, Portugal, in 1557, with an apocryphal ending; and the third edition in Cologne, Germany, in 1559, probably intended for a Portuguese Jewish readership (Macedo 1977). As if imitating the diasporic life of her sixteenth-century intertext, Maria Archer repeats different versions of that same "Menina e moça" narrative, painting herself in a slightly different colonial pastiche in each of her subsequent books pertaining to the Portuguese empire. As she does so, she justifies her writing as both a gesture of thanks to empire and a plea for justice on behalf of the colonized. The paradox may not be as appalling as it seems, since empire and colonialism were disjointed by many a writer and intellectual, moved by the nationalist-patriotic dimension of the first and reacting against the violent, inhuman consequences of the second. We will return to this point in the following chapter.

Conclusion

Portugal's vulnerability in the context of the competition for empire, the recognition of its economic, political and indeed cultural or civilizational marginality in relation to late European empires, finds a thorny, agonistic inscription in colonial literature. That inscription is part and parcel of a literature meant to foster patriotic pride rather than to encourage settler colonialism. In fact, following his first Minister of the Colonies, Armindo Monteiro, in the 1930s and 1940s, Salazar limits settlement to those with social status, economic means and managerial experience in the areas of commerce, industry and especially agriculture (Castelo 2009: paras 9–10). It is thus comprehensible that the general Portuguese population at the time is or feels removed removed from the going-ons of colonialism out there—even if they happen to already live in the colonies. They are not unlike the mother in Fernando Pessoa's poem, at the beginning of the present chapter, who remains aloof from the forces that, in the end, killed her son

somewhere far off. People's indifference or ignorance, in an old, small nation still dreaming of bygone empires, of what colonialism is or should be is hypothetically interrupted by the intervention of a latecomer to the social gathering in Maria Amélia Rodrigues's *Adão e Eva*, discussed earlier in the chapter. He asks: "Daremos nós todos [...] a mesma equivalência ao vocábulo 'colonizar'?" ("Do we all give ... the same meaning to the term 'colonize'?") (Rodrigues 1932: 119). Like the enlightened woman character who refuses to accept the racist talk of the other female guests and points out their lack of education as well as their lack of preparation to be educators, the character bringing up the question of what it is to "colonize," an engineer, confronts the men with the same reason for the failure of colonialism in the Portuguese context:

> É preciso melhorar as condições morais, materiais e intelectuais do indígena ... Na Metrópole deviam preparar-se, cuidadosamente, os futuros colonos. ... É esta falta de preparação a gravíssima determinante dos nossos erros. (119)

> (We need to better the moral, material and intellectual conditions of the indigenous ... The future colonists should be carefully prepared in the metropole. ... This lack of preparation is the most serious cause of our mistakes.)

From the point of view of gender, of a gender politics that, in official rhetoric, attributed to the wife-mother and homemaker a domestic know-how that was transferable to the government of a nation and an imperialist one at that, there is little doubt that late Portuguese colonialism was marred not only by a lack of capital, resources and people, but, at the center of it all and beginning at the metropole, it was doomed at least partially by alleged feminine failure. A failure of education, of historical and political consciousness, and of specific training or preparation for colonial life, especially to be a good colonial homemaker, *dona de casa colonial*, which is not the same as being simply a wife and mother or homemaker in the metropole, strictly in relation to economic, social and moral life in Europe.

In 1947, in a propaganda series titled "Portugal Maior: Cadernos coloniais de propaganda e informação" published in Luanda, Gastão Sousa Dias (1887–1955) authored an overview of the contribution of women to the colonization of Angola. Reacting to yet another period of "disorientation" after World War II, the author encourages women to take repossession of the honorable role of "senhora do lar" (1947: 25—"lady of the home"). He goes on to specifically hail "Angolan women" for that ideal, that of the "colaboração abnegada" (25–26—"abnegated collaboration") of the mother

and homemaker, to the feasibility of the settler colony that Angola was in the process of becoming. Yet in 1953, in the first monograph dedicated to colonial literature, Rodrigues Júnior, an author of colonial literature himself living in Lourenço Marques (now Maputo), Mozambique, is still decrying the absence of white women, of a settler colony and of "an authentic national consciousness." He blames the lack of government support to develop colonial cultures, giving the example of the cost to enter the Colonial Literature Prize context; it is so high that it discourages candidates (Rodrigues Júnior 1953: 29–30). The next chapter peruses how some key works of literature produced in Portugal about the African colonies, although not competing or involved in the official Colonial Literature Prize, further undermine the patriotic-colonialist role intended for colonial literature as part and parcel of Salazar's imperialistic cultural performances.

Notes

1 Since the publication of Helen Callaway's *Gender, Culture and Empire*, in 1987, and until the mid-2000s, there was an explosion of work on the topic, especially from historians and literary critics. See, for example, Mills 1991; Strobel 1991; Chauduri and Strobel 1992; Lewis 1996; Clancy-Smith and Gouda 1998; Wildethal 2001; Levine 2004.

2 In the battle of La Lys alone there were an estimated 7,000 Portuguese victims, the memory of whom was celebrated for the first time in France on April 9, 2018 (Cruz 2018). For Portugal's involvement in the war, see, for example, Marques 1986: 534–38 and Rosas 2018: 23.

3 See Pedro 2003 and Garcia 2008 for scholarly studies of the Colonial Literature Prize.

4 Whether Salazar's regime can be considered fascist or not in view of other fascist regimes between the two world wars in the twentieth century has been the subject of controversy. For the purposes of the present monograph and in light of my historiographical sources (e.g. Fernando Rosas), I use "fascist" and often stress the necessity of appending "colonialist" to it.

5 See Cleminson 2014 for a substantial, well-informed study of eugenics in Portuguese culture.

6 Several short stories by the Mozambican-born Lília da Fonseca, included in *A mulher que amou uma sombra* (1941), also follow the colonial regeneration plot. By contrast, a number of short stories included in Maria Archer's *Fauno sovina* (1941) and *Há-de haver uma lei* (1949) appear to go against this most popular strand of colonial fiction; they bespeak her courage and independence of mind, and will be treated in the next chapter along with other likewise critical perspectives of colonialism and miscegenation.

7 See also Rosas's 2017 documentary on Norton de Matos.

8 The formulaic phrase harks back to progressive nineteenth-century thinkers, such as John Stuart Mill, Fourier, and Marx and Engels, who

believed that the degree of development of a society was measured by the condition of women in it (Wildethal 2001: 1; Towns 2010: 170). In Portugal, poet and philosopher Antero de Quental, for example, echoed the idea in an essay on women's education, "Educação das mulheres" (1859; 1898; 1982).

9 Fernanda de Castro dedicates the novel to her husband, António Ferro, the modernist writer and intellectual who would become the director of the Service of National Propaganda under Salazar's regime. In 1936, thanks to a change to the men-only regulation, she was invited to join the seven-member jury of the competion for the Colonial Literature Prize (Pedro 2003: 70).

10 See Noa 2007 for the first book-length scholarly study of colonial literature, the examples of which are all male-authored.

11 See Jerónimo 2015b: 134–94 for a detailed scholarly study of the Ross Report and its impact in Portuguese colonial politics in the period.

12 The 1928 Work Code for Indigenous Populations in the Portuguese Colonies of Africa attempted to curb abusive, slave-like labor, but was largely overlooked. By the late 1920s voluntary laborers had to work about four months per year as tax payment, but were "cheated and made to stay for longer periods" (Clarence-Smith 1985: 140). See also, among others, Rosas 1994: 128–31; Castelo 2007: 304–15; and Jerónimo and Monteiro 2014.

13 In the story, "A fome" ("Hunger"), the omniscient narrator, mimicking the discourse of Portuguese colonials, puts it thus: "Aqueles diabos eram assim, quando caía a chuva já não queriam trabalhar mais para os brancos" (Azeredo 1935: 217—"Those devils were like that, when the rain fell they no longer wanted to work for the whites").

14 "Liamba" refers to the dried cannabis sativa plant, used as an intoxicant.

15 The colonies were considered an extension of rural Portugal (Rui Pereira 1987: 94).

16 A few years later the scene would be rendered—with white characters—in Salazar's propaganda poster, "The Trilogy of National Education."

17 See Ferreira 1997; Elizabeth Baptista 2007: 28–38. See Bordeira 2014 for the latest well-informed bio-bibliography.

18 Olive Schreiner's *Story of an African Farm* (1883) may be said to have set the model for colonial literature critical of the treatment of Africans but using the conventional racist language of the times, particularly that inspired by evolutionary precepts (Boehmer 1995: 89).

19 Maria Archer seems to represent the *bricoleur* described by Claude Lévi-Strauss in *La pensée sauvage* (1962), but she does not question received ideas surrounding "primitive" or "pre-logical" thinking.

CHAPTER THREE

"Making Empire Respectable": Between Miscegenation and Lusotropicalism

The scarce presence of white women in the colonial societies developing in Africa in the context of late empire, from the end of the nineteenth century to the first half of the twentieth, preoccupied most Europeans. As Julia Clancy-Smith and Frances Gouda's edited collection of essays demonstrates for the French and Dutch cases (1998), women were considered the agents of the "domestication" of empire. Drawing on Ann Stoler's influential article on the topic (1989), Barbara Bush notes that women were responsible for "making [empire] respectable through marriage, the policing of white male sexuality, and 'moral rearmament'" (2004: 90–91). That role became even more important after World War I as part of a new colonial order of peace, normalcy and domesticity. Such a "feminization" of empire had at its center colonial anxieties over racial mixing during the period witnessing the rise of European nationalisms predicated upon notions of racial purity, from the 1920s to the 1940s (Wildenthal 2001: 5). That frame of reference is no less applicable to the Portuguese empire in Africa, even if racial mixing was thought to be the norm in earlier stages of the overseas empire, in Asia and Brazil.[1]

In *Portugal no Continente Africano* (1935—*Portugal in the African Continent*), Eduardo Brazão (1907–1987) blames his countrymen's indifference to the African colonies for Portugal's marginalization as a European empire. Even considering the fact that Brazão is a historian of diplomacy and not a sociologist, it is symptomatic that he does not touch the problem of settler colonialism in a book that professes the need to confront with candor Portugal's "errors" of colonization in Africa (11). The lack of interest in Portugal's African colonies can in part be explained by the severe economic crisis affecting Portugal since the second half of the nineteenth century, favoring instead emigration to Brazil where jobs could be found and a better life pursued. The loss of the south American colony to independence in 1822, the high cost incurred with the civil wars fought to establish liberalism (1824–1836) and the local effects of the economic recession affecting the whole of Europe in the late nineteenth century can all account for the paucity

of settler colonization in Africa. The situation only began to change after the 1950s, when other European empires were beginning to dismantle.

Cláudia Castelo's *Passagens para África: O povoamento de Angola e Moçambique com naturais da metrópole (1920–1974)* (2007—*Tickets to Africa: The Settlement of Angola and Mozambique with Metropolitan Nationals [1920–1974]*) tells the story of the slow and difficult process of settling the main Portuguese colonies in Africa, Angola and Mozambique. That story contradicts the nationalist myth of Portugal's colonial destiny and aptitude, the origin of which was the 1933 Constitution and Colonial Act, the official written foundation of António de Oliveira Salazar's Estado Novo (New State). Furthermore, Castelo's well-researched study, supported by an impressive amount of quantitative data, leads one to question—as the author herself points out—the rekindling of the belief, which had been banked on by the fascist-colonialist state, that Portuguese people have "a special (affective) relation with Africa" (Castelo 2007: 18). That is indicated by the proliferation of cultural products and mass media produced particularly since the 1990s centered on the nostalgic or traumatic memory of the last years of the empire. The time frame privileged in this cultural work of memory coincides with the years of the so-called colonial war, from the early 1960s to decolonization in 1975.[2] But how about the longer term, the period between the late 1920s to the early 1930s and the beginning of armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism in 1961? A careful consideration of the literary record for this period can be valuable, adding qualitative sources, depth and complexity to Cláudia Castelo's findings; and shed light on the heavily gendered and sexualized constructions of empire in addition to and entangled with racial and classist constructions.[3]

Turning away from the characteristic short memory of more contemporary sources, this chapter focuses on how three important women writers and intellectuals, writing between the late 1920s and the early 1960s, were interpelated by and in turn responded to the greatest challenge of Portuguese colonialism in the twentieth century: convincing families to emigrate to and develop African colonies meant for settlement, that is, Angola and Mozambique. Miscegenation was in this context one of the most ostensible indicators of Portuguese colonial vulnerability, or what Boaventura de Sousa Santos has characterized as a "deficit of colonialism" (2002: 9, 19). It apparently led the British, according to the famous colonial writer General Henrique Galvão, to consider the Portuguese lower classes "animal-like" for easily mixing with dark-skinned peoples (Bender 1978: 7). That type of reputation remains unchanged despite the circulation, after the 1950s, of what are known as Lusotropicalist arguments by Salazar's fascist-colonialist regime to assert the supposed non-racism of the Portuguese. Those

arguments are succinctly summarized by Cláudia Castelo, an expert on the topic, as follows:

> o luso-tropicalismo postula a especial capacidade de adaptação dos portugueses aos trópicos, não por interesse político ou económico, mas por empatia inata e criadora. A aptidão do português para se relacionar com as terras e gentes tropicais, a sua plasticidade intrínseca, resultaria da sua própria origem étnica híbrida, da sua "bi-continentalidade" e do longo contacto com mouros e judeus na Península Ibérica, nos primeiros séculos da nacionalidade, e manifesta-se sobretudo através da miscigenação e da interpenetração de culturas. (Castelo 2013)
>
> (luso-tropicalism claims that the Portuguese have a special ability for adaptation to the tropics, due not to political or economic interest, but to a creative, innate empathy. The aptitude of the Portuguese to relate to tropical lands and people, their intrinsic plasticity, would be the result of their own hybrid ethnic origin, of their "bi-continentality" and of the long contact with Moors and Jews in the Iberian Peninsula, during the first centuries of nationality, and it is manifested especially through the miscegenation and interpenetration of cultures.)

Even though some elements of that argument were already circulating in nationalist discourse at the turn of the twentieth century (Alexandre 2000: 143), Gilberto Freyre systematized them and lent them a social-scientific aura. The latter became instrumental for the regime to argue for holding on to its colonies in view of mounting opposition by the international community. Yet as will be seen, the argument was also appropriated and turned against them to decree the end of Portuguese colonialism and call out the myth that held it in place.

It is possible to identify representations in literary culture of two distinct periods in the generally unsuccessful colonization effort that was ironically only ameliorated in the decade preceding and during armed struggle for independence between 1961 and 1974. Since the 1920s those representations seem to be primarily directed at making women aware of, if not responsible for, the "problem" of miscegenation between single Portuguese men and native women in the African colonies, with morally and socially harmful consequences to all parties involved.[4] The first period ensues from the Republican government's initiative to populate and develop the colonies, following up on the new rules of empire and the threat of takeover by powerful competing empires (i.e. British and German). The language of social Darwinism colors those representations of the 1920s and 1930s, as the fiction of journalist Maria Lamas (1893–1983) compellingly illustrates

them, while also testifying to the first great wave of emigration from Portugal to the Americas. The second period, in the post-World War II years, corresponds to Salazar's centralization of the colonial government and a host of propaganda initiatives encouraging national pride in the empire, but limiting emigration to the colonies to professionally specialized men and accompanying wives and children. Important changes ensued after 1951 in the way the language of empire, colonialism and "race" was cast by the regime in light of the ideas of Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre (1900–1987), regarding the multiracial propensity of Luso-based societies. Critiques of that official narrative surfaces at this time from humanitarian feminine perspectives. The latter, authored by Maria Archer (1899–1982) and Maria da Graça Freire (1918–1993), two writers of quite different political affinities and of two different generations, contradicted the official government discourse of Lusotropicalism. The following discusses, then, how a number of women writers responded to the problem of settler colonialism at different points in time by engaging the issue of miscegenation. Simultaneously, they pointed to the role that Portuguese women from the metropole played in the cycle of exploitation, racism and violence that was characteristic of colonial societies. I pursue a comparative frame as regards both representations of the topic by male writers and its appearance in other colonial literatures. Because of the complexity and ambiguity involved as a concretely lived experience, miscegenation is a topic that warrants study in the literary record and not exclusively in scientific or official government discourses.[5]

I. From Complicity to Opposition

Fleeing National Decadence: The Conversion Narratives of Maria Lamas

As with other European empires in the period following the partition of Africa, during the first two decades of the twentieth century, the Portuguese government undertook efforts of direct colonization after attempting to suppress indigenous rebellion. For some, colonization meant the possibility of bringing into being "a new Brazil', as studied in detail by Valentim Alexandre (2000). But its accomplishment felt short of the idea of colonization put forward by the League of Nations after World War I. Colonization called for the civilization, development and protection of the indigenous in territories falling or realigned under the responsibility of a given imperial power (Rist 2009: 65–71). At the Peace Conference in Versailles, in 1919, the Portuguese government was sharply criticized for not being able to administer its

colonies properly and for still maintaining a form of slavery or forced labor. Portuguese colonies were threatened if the situation did not change. It is thought that the aim in these sanctions was to open the Portuguese colonial markets to international trade, something that the Republican government partially conceded by giving relative autonomy to Angola and Mozambique and by promising to improve colonial administration and development initiatives, including economic, social and cultural "advancement" of the native populations (Alexandre 2003: 67–68; Pimenta 2010: 45–46). To ensure that such objectives would be accomplished, from 1921 High Commissioners were appointed to those colonies, and colonial administration and finances were decentralized. It is in this spirit that settler colonization with white families from the metropole was promoted by the government's financing of *passagens* or (boat) tickets to Africa (Castelo 2007). High Commissioner Norton de Matos's agricultural development initiatives of of Angola's central highlands raised much attention, not the least because of their limited success in comparison to the investments and foreign debt incurred. Still, the number of families relocated to the colony increased exponentially, from 9,000 in 1900 to 44,000 in 1930 (Alexandre 2011: 78). It is believed that the unsuccessful colonization effort was the last straw in the financial crisis that brought the First Republic to an end by a military coup on May 28, 1926 (Wheeler 1999: 154–56; Alexandre 2011: 78–81).

Two novels by Maria Lamas, *Diferença de raças* (1923—*Racial Differences*) and *O caminho luminoso* (1930—*The Shiny Path*), illustrate particularly well how women, bourgeois women to be sure, were encouraged to become involved in the colonizing effort in opposition to and as a morally rewarding alternative to emigration to Brazil or the United States. The latter was at an all-time high during the first two decades of the twentieth century, prompted by the proportions of the economic crisis assailing Portugal (Castelo 2007: 171–72).[6] Maria Lamas (1893–1983), who had experienced life in Angola from 1911 to 1913 as the wife of a republican military officer stationed in that colony, points to the social (and indirectly the political) conditions that would have caused economic depression and social strife; and she modeled the morally strong, religiously abiding female characters needed for the Portuguese to keep strictly endogamous social and sexual relations whether as immigrants in the New World or as colonists in Africa. The conversion plots that are typical of her novels support the belief proffered, for example, by Ramalhão Ortigão paraphrasing an article he would have read in the London *Times*, that for a national community in disarray due to emigration, and for ease in assimilating to other cultures, only the family could offer "affective continuity" and thereby ensure the survival of the race ("A raça"—1916: 245). Hence the importance of women

as wives and mothers at the center of the family, and as guardians of the so-called Portuguese race.[7]

Maria Lamas's *Diferença de raças* bears a provocative title that would surely elicit reactions in readers of the 1920s, steeped since the late nineteenth century in vulgar notions of social Darwinism that encouraged measures of racial hygiene and "'the perfection of the race'" (Pimentel 1998; Ana Leonor Pereira 1999; Matos 2010). The "races" in the title refer to nationalities and ethnicities and not—at least literally—to skin color. The plot presents an ill-matched couple consisting of a well-to-do, educated young Portuguese woman, Beatriz, raised in the countryside, and an urban, sophisticated and charming Englishman. She narrates the story in a confessional autobiographical mode through which we learn that she had chosen the foreign *Prince Charmant* over a local young man from a poor family; she describes him as "apagado como se fosse de pedra" (14—"self-erased as if made of stone"). She also refers to him in a variety of disparaging terms (e.g. *feio* and *selvagem*, or "ugly" and "wild") while, nonetheless, taking note of his moral, hard-working character and his focus on getting a university education. The design of the love triangle is thus a virtual caricature of the players in the political alliance between England and Portugal, with the female protagonist here functioning as a symbol of Portugal, dominated by Great Britain.[8] The Portuguese man is represented initially as inferior to the Englishman: he is a reminder of the reputation that the Portuguese reportedly had since the first competition for empire in the early modern period—the "kaffirs of Europe" (Boxer 1969: 342; Santos 2002).

Ever the sympathizer of the extinct liberal monarchy, Maria Lamas, whose second husband was a journalist for the monarchic press, implicitly connects the "native" man with the vulnerable and marginal position that Portugal occupies in the context of late imperialism, and specifically in regard to Great Britain's power. The autobiographical female narrator-protagonist ends up marrying the Portuguese steadfast but poor and unimpressive man only after her English husband (conveniently) dies. She admits that she had felt "desconsiderada, quando o marido a procurava mais intimamente" (Lamas 1923: 219—"her husband was inconsiderate whenever he reached out for her more intimately"). The comment suggests a patriotic contrast with the supposed amorous fervor of Portuguese men—the navigators mythologized in the famous episode of the "Island of Love" in Canto IX of Luiz de Camões' epic, *Os Lusíadas* (1578—*The Lusiads*).[9] We will return to that most typical, culturally enduring supposition in the next chapter.

The naïve pedagogical design of the novel reaches its climax after the new couple emigrates to the United States, which may reflect the wave of

emigration registered particularly during the second decade of the twentieth century (Serrão 1982: 45). After the new couple is established in San Francisco and has started a family, the protagonist proffers that she will do anything in her power to prevent "racial difference" between her daughter and the man whom she will marry someday (Lamas 1923: 253). The same basic message regarding women's responsibility in preventing racial mixes is also found in other contemporary authors who refer to Portuguese immigrant communities in Brazil and in the United States. Cases in point are Ana de Castro Osório's encomiastic defense of endogamy in *Mundo novo* (1927—*New World*), about the Portuguese immigrant community, referred to as a "colony," Nova Esperança, in São Paulo;[10] and António Ferro's portrayal of "The Portuguese Woman in California" in his collection of essays reporting on his visit to the United States, *Mundo novo—novo mundo* (1929).

In addition to guarding the boundaries and the hence integrity of the (white) "race," women were also expected to keep the classes separate and to neutralize any ambition of upward mobility; Maria Amália Vaz de Carvalho's advice to brides, as noted in the first chapter, come here to mind (1891: 119–29). Anxieties over class conflict and, most of all, contamination of the rich by the poor, the urban by the rural, the healthy by the sick, have gone hand in hand with anxieties regarding racial mixing mounting in the context of late empire since the end of the nineteenth century and throughout the first decades of the twentieth (e.g. Young 1995; Levine 2010). Maria Lamas's second novel, *O caminho luminoso* (1930—*The Shining Path*), outlines how that model of womanhood as guardian of racial, social, and sexual order was mobilized under the authoritarian, repressive regime launched by the military coup of 1926 that toppled the First Republic and brought António de Oliveira Salazar to power; he would eventually be called "o salvador da pátria" or "the savior of the fatherland."

O caminho luminoso follows yet another schematic plot of conversion. After suffering a host of trials and humiliations as a single rural girl working as a maid in the big city, the female protagonist becomes a practicing Catholic and is thereby illuminated to embrace the love of a young man from her hometown who has also moved to the city. He has turned into a revolutionary anarchist, and is dying in a hospital from a liver condition—the latter being connected, in popular lore, to alcoholism. The protagonist's "moral rebirth" is said to transform her into "uma mulher consciente da sua missão na Terra, capaz de sacrificar-se" ("a woman conscious of her mission on Earth, able to sacrifice herself") and she can find value even in menial tasks and beauty in "no preenchimento de um dever" (Lamas 1930: 170—"the fulfillment of a duty"). Here is the model of the woman who is to accompany the renewed, healthy husband to the Benguela Plateau in Angola, where she will create a

"happy and small" home (198). The plot line is thus resolved by the coming into being of an exemplary Portuguese couple from the same class and regional origin, who, both helped and directed by government funding, settle in an area of African land that was intended as an extension of rural Portugal, where the fascist model of the small, humble and happy home might be reproduced.[11] This narrative, as seen in the previous chapter, became the *sine qua non* of the colonialist plot, emblematized by Henrique Galvão's award-winning *O velo d'oiro* (1931—*The Golden Fleece*).

The insistence with which that message is repeated in colonial literature and other cultural products, notably film, might be explained by a generalized cultural anxiety about political and economic weakness and inappropriate colonial performance. Aside from the proscribed forced labor that was denounced by the international community and the lack of support from the metropole, including the lack of military forces, that anxiety or "vulnerability" (Roque 2003) was understandably connected to the mixed-race families created by Portuguese men in the absence of European women and, more specifically, of settler colonialism.

The "Problem" of Miscegenation in the Portuguese Colonies

Concern about sexual union between European men and women of color was generalized in Europe, the Americas and colonial Africa and Asia throughout the first half of the twentieth century. Since Ann Stoler (1995) and Anne McClintock (1995), numerous scholars have discussed how colonies and the metropole were intimately connected under the same fear of mixing between peoples identified by a host of racialized differences placed in a hierarchical order. That fear was probably what encouraged the creation of "miscegenation melodrama," perhaps not by chance in South Africa. *God's Step-Children* (1924) by Sarah Gertrude Millin is considered the founding work of the genre.[12] The goal was to warn against the moral, social and political peril represented by mixed-race offspring. Due to its supposed more common occurrence in Portuguese territories, miscegenation may be considered the symptom *par excellence* of Portuguese colonial weakness. Its representations point to a colonial deficit that only legitimate European wives could theoretically help overcome in the moral domain of home, combining affects and economics.

Salazar was however not as interested in colonialism, understood normatively as development, civilization and protectionism, as with Portugal's economic recovery through exploitation of colonial territories. To this end, the centralization of colonial government, following the 1933 Constitution of the New State and Colonial Act, called for a new type of

colonial settler very different from the mostly rural and unspecialized working classes that in an earlier period had been allured to Africa by the republican government's incentives. Salazar's new approach to colonial policy is laid out by Minister of the Colonies, Armindo Monteiro, in the closing speech of the First Conference of the Empire, "Directrizes para uma política ultramarina" ("Directives for an Overseas Policy"), delivered to the governors of the colonies in June 1934. Although Monteiro acknowledged that the lack of white settlers continued to be of concern, he shunned the previous approach by the Republican government to encourage settlement and stated that only those with the means to pay for their own travel and settlement in Africa were desirable colonists. He called for "quadros técnicos," or the specialized professional staff needed in large-scale industry, business and, before anything else, in agriculture. "Gente que chegue desprovida de saber e de capital não faz falta na Africa: dessa temos lá milhões" (27—"Those arriving without knowledge or capital are not needed: we have millions of those there"). For Monteiro, the development of the colonies entailed "elevar a vida do negro para níveis de necessidades morais e materiais sucessivamente mais altos" (28—"elevat[ing] the moral and material needs of the negro to increasingly higher levels"). This lofty, civilizing mission was, nevertheless, with a view to generating capital and, more importantly, to preventing the growth of a white society racialized by poverty, and hence disempowered in their assumed superiority vis-à-vis the African natives (Stoler 1989: 639; Thomaz 2002: 185–87; Castelo 2007: 287). Monteiro attributed to other empires the error of colonizing with "poor masses"; and proposed that Portugal, by virtue of its "overseas traditions," had the obligation to "servir de guia—a dar exemplo e não a receber lições [de colonização]" (Monteiro 1934a: 26—"to serve as a guide—to give an example and not to receive lessons [in colonization]").

Thus, in a typical fascist manner, the Minister of the Colonies imparted an example for others to follow when he visited the overseas colonies in 1934 accompanied by his wife. The trip was reported in the magazine *O mundo português* (*The Portuguese World*), the official publication of the General Agency of the Colonies, under the title "A mulher portuguesa e as colónias" (1934b—"Portuguese Women and the Colonies"). The anonymous author attributed to the scarcity of women in the colonies the only failure of an otherwise successful colonization history. He/she ultimately blamed men who insisted on withstanding alone the trials of life in an inhospitable land:

> Abusando das suas forças, o português tudo faz, de facto, para diminuir a capacidade de resistência moral, e até, muitas vezes, as comodidades materiais, num estoicismo que tem a sua grandeza mas que é inútil e

prejudicial. Porque se as nossas mulheres, por ignorância, temem ainda o que para elas é a Costa da África, a verdade é que são os homens que, por pieguice, as querem poupar ao sacrifício da vida nas colónias.

Ah! Se as mulheres portuguesas acompanhassem os maridos! … (Monteiro 1934b: 122)

(Abusing his strength, the Portuguese man in fact does so much as to reduce his capacity of moral resistance and even, many times, material comforts in a stoic manner that has its greatness but that is useless and harmful. For if our wives still fear, out of ignorance, what for them is the Coast of Africa, the truth is that it is men who, out of sentimentality, want to spare them the sacrifice of life in the colonies.

Ah! If only Portuguese women were to accompany their husbands! …)

Successful colonization would rest, then, on transplanting the morally normative couple to the colonies. The presence of wives would supposedly do away with the immoral relations that lonely men reputedly had with native women.

That didactic formula, not by chance authored by men, directly or indirectly made Portuguese women in the metropole responsible for the physical and moral trials suffered by the colonist in Africa. João Augusto da Silva's account of colonial adventure in Guinea, *África: Da vida e do amor na selva* (1936), is a case in point:

A par da paisagem, da sociedade e do clima, contribui para a modificação do colono a falta enervante de mulheres brancas. Desvairado pelo desejo, vê-se o homem obrigado a procurar, em último recurso, a fémea negra. A continuação lança-o no hábito e d'aí o atoleiro donde dificilmente sae. Vão passando os anos e ele, por fim, vê-se rodeado dos frutos do seu amor incontido, uns mulatinhos que amanhã lhe terão ódio, e à mãe, que é negra, votarão desprezo. (29)

(Alongside the scenery, the society and the climate, the enervating lack of white women contributes much to the breakdown of the colonist. Mad with desire, the man is forced to search for, as a last recourse, the black female. Then he gets into the habit and hence falls into the pit from which he finds it difficult to get out. The years pass and, finally, he sees himself surrounded by the fruits of his unrestrained love, little mulattoes who will hate him tomorrow, and who will despise their mother.)

Winner of the Colonial Literature competition for 1936, the book went through three editions before the year was over. The apparent fascination of readers may have had to do with the tantalizing mystery of what the title, "Life and Love in the Jungle," suggested, or its potential consequences: the mixed-race offspring of sexual relations between the presumed lonely European male and the African female.

Even though official pronouncements of Salazar's regime did not directly engage in the language of eugenics, it is only natural that the topic of racial mixing was of concern to anthropologists between the 1930 and the 1950s. It became the focus of the First National Congress of Colonial Anthropology in Portugal, held in September 1934. "Os Problemas da Mestiçagem" ("The Problems of Miscegenation") was the title of Eusébio Tamagnini's plenary opening lecture. It is an alert against the "risk" of miscegenation but as part of a broad "movimento nacional em defesa das nossas colónias" (1934: 23—"national movement of defense of our colonies"). Tamagnini proposed that the excess Portuguese population without means, those who sought better lives by emigrating, should go instead to the African colonies and settle there since those were supposed to be a "continuation of the mother land" (25). Interestingly enough, the anthropologist echoes a message reminiscent of republican colonial politics, aimed at encouraging mass settlement. Yet this is exactly, as mentioned earlier, what Salazar's Minister of Colonies, Armindo Monteiro, had discouraged in his speech to the colonial governors held in June 1934, in which he emphasized that only those with means and professional abilities should settle in the colonies.

After presenting what seem to have been the main lines of research at the time on the issue of miscegenation, Tamagnigi concluded by reasserting the controversial thesis of the superiority of the white race and calling for an immediate change in the naturalized sexual morality allowing Portuguese men to have sex with women of other races. The anthropologist in fact questioned the standing cultural belief that Portuguese men had a special propensity for miscegenation: "É indisensável modificar radicalmente semelhante attitude, se é que ela existe como característica étnica própria" (26—"Such an attitude must be radically changed, if it exists as a specifically ethnic characteristic"). He proscribed miscegenation unequivocally on the basis of the hierarchy of races and on the social marginalization that an offspring of mixed race would suffer: "Os mestiços, não se adaptando a nenhum dos sistemas, são rejeitados por ambos. Este facto cria-lhes uma posição social infeliz" (26—"The mixed-raced, not adapting to either of the systems, is rejected by both. This creates an unhappy social position for them").[13]

Maria Archer's Miscegenation Melodramas

No other writer who engaged in colonial literature calls attention to the line of thinking espoused by Tamagnini as insistently as Maria Archer (1899–1982). Her criticism of European disruption of traditional African ways of life was studied in the previous chapter in connection to her volume, *África selvagem* (1935). In several of her short stories, published first in the periodical press in the late 1930s and 1940s, she exposes race relations in colonial society, evoking the racist slurs of her day and citing the dominant current of scientific thinking regarding racial mixtures. It was against this thinking as it affected Brazil that sociologist Gilberto Freyre wrote *Casa grande e senzala* (1933—*The Masters and the Slaves*). Although not appealing to Salazar's ideology of colonialism, it was met with the approval of some intellectuals (Castelo 1998: 48). Maria Archer was among them, as can be gathered by the two articles that she authored on Gilberto Freyre for the well-respected journal *Seara Nova* in 1937 (Elizabeth Baptista 2007: 43). By the time she was writing and publishing the short stories in question, she was thus dramatizing just how far her compatriots were from Freyre's idealization of race relations under Portuguese colonial rule. Her references to the human suffering involved in and as a consequence of miscegenation may be thus considered contrapunctally to his arguments, foreshadowing the critique of what years later would be known as "Lusotropicalism."

With naturalist detail and detachment citing the racial common sense of her day, Archer presents her mixed-blood characters in derogatory terms, calling them "pretos" ("black") and suggesting that the races as well as the classes should keep separate and remain differentiated. In the story "Vingança" ("Vengeance"), included in the collection *África selvagem*, she calls the *mestiço* "ambanquista," defining the latter as "o negro no meio civilizado que macaqueia o europeu" (Archer 1935: 170–71—"the negro who in the civilized environment monkey-mimics Europeans"). Her characterization of the *mestiça* is even more insulting: "ainda a negrinha feia vira senhora pimpona como branca" (142—"even the ugly black girl would turn into a self-important lady as if she were white"). Such disparaging comments regarding people of mixed race resurface in several stories included in *Fauno sovina* (1941—*Stingy Faun*), for example, "Saudades de Dona Joaquina" ("Missing Dona Joaquina"); "O cauteleiro preto" ("The Black Lottery Salesman"); and "A Rainha Calinacho" ("Queen Calinacho"). Such prejudice against mixed-race people was generalized in the colonial population, even if there was no agreement regarding their supposed inferior status (Castelo 2007: 272).

Archer ostensibly proscribes miscegenation and assimilation, but ultimately in view of proscribing colonialism: "O negro vale moralmente como animal livre no seu território livre, como africano sem mestiçagem vivendo na África sem senhores" (Archer 1935: 172—"The negro has moral worth as a free animal in his free territory, as an African without miscegenation living in an Africa without masters"). The humanitarian anti-colonialism inspiring this statement is not incompatible with Maria Archer's writings of imperialist propaganda, as will be discussed later in this chapter. The ironic distance between the ideal or even the occurrence of interracial intimacy and what is bound to happen structurally, on the grounds of concrete race relations, is brought to view in the short story "Maternidade" ("Motherhood"), included in *Há-de haver uma lei* (1949—*There Must be a Law*).

The author highlights the cycle of violence, exploitation and abuse that colonial masters perpetrate against African men and women, including their own *mestiço* offspring. What is particularly compelling in this story is the way in which it points to the active role that metropolitan women have within the so-called Portuguese home in the reproduction of the colonial racist order.

"Maternidade" focuses on the tragic destinies of two generations of Mozambican mothers of Macua ethnicity, who are sexually and emotionally exploited, humiliated and finally driven to their deaths by colonists who submit to the moral order of metropolitan women. The first indigenous woman, who lives out of wedlock with a rich Portuguese businessman, is pushed aside just as soon as he returns from a trip to the metropole married to a white woman. Their *mestiça* daughter is sent away to a religious boarding school in the Belgian Congo. When she returns to her father's home twelve years later after his wife dies, she despises the man who had her mother killed, but ends up marrying one not much unlike her father—a white Portuguese medical doctor stationed in Mozambique. She is highly educated and feels "quase branca, e igual às brancas nos modos e na educação" (Archer 1949: 75—"almost almost white, and equal to the whites in behavior and education"). Still, she is unwelcomed in her husband's hometown in northern Portugal when the couple visits with their newborn daughter and two Mozambican servants, a man and a woman. The women in her husband's family alternate between disparaging her dark color and taking note of her economic status, inherited from her rich Portuguese father; and they end up convincing the husband to push her away, take possession of her fortune and marry a local (Portuguese) woman. Their *mestiça* daughter, born with light hair, hardly appears to have "African blood" (77).

The story suggests a continuing cycle of racial violence against the black mother (an encompassing metaphor for the African land), who is taken

and exploited to be subsequently assimilated, "whitened" and destroyed in name of the European civilizing mission, in this case, Portugal's. What is particularly compelling in "Maternidade" is the way in which the narrative points bitterly to the active role that metropolitan women have in the reproduction of the colonial racist order supporting that violence. And all because of they remain historically, politically and morally aloof from the colonial situation, and limit themselves to following the cultural mandate enacting the "comédia da feminilidade" ("comedy of femininity") in order to marry well and become "donas de casa" (Ferreira 1997—"homemakers"). Seen alongside other narratives by the same author, it becomes evident that Maria Archer exposes here not only racist thinking but also the unfortunate, yet expected behavior of European women under colonialism. In an article written in 1958 on "Contactos culturais" ("Cultural Contacts"), anthropologist Jorge Dias describes that behavior as jealousy-turned-racism against indigenous women (in Castelo 1998: 117; Castelo 2007: 290). Keeping "their" men from having intimate relations with native women in the colonies and thereby putting a halt to the birth of mixed-race children was, after all, part of the humanitarian, so-called civilizing mission expected of white European women.

Maria Archer's short story dismantles with irony the idea that there is a "spiritual unity" between the peoples and races that constitute the "nation" of Portugal, as disseminated by the propaganda apparatus of Salazar's regime since 1934 and as propounded by Armindo Monteiro in the address to the colonial governors referred to earlier. He states: Portugal "não é um país ibérico, comprimido numa nesga de terra europeia, mas uma nação que se dilata pelo Mundo tão largamente que os seus interesses abarcam ainda quase todos os mares e continentes" (1934a: 40—"is not an Iberian country, squeezed within a crack of European land, but a nation spread throughout the world so widely that its interests still encompass almost all the seas and continents"). Marcello Caetano, Minister of the Colonies in 1945, would reinforce the notion of "spiritual unity" among the nation's peoples in his outline of "new directives" for Portuguese imperial politics of development. "A África já não é a África" ("Africa is no longer Africa") he states, due to the increase of settlers in the colonies (1945: 3). Women would once again be hailed as helpmates, if not guarantees, through their function as gatekeepers of racial mixtures, and ultimately of the continuing metropolitan domination over the colonies. Portuguese (or white) motherhood and "development," in this context, go side by side.

II. From Lusotropicalism to Anti-colonialism

Gilberto Freyre's Modern Thinking on "Race" for an Outmoded Colonialism

In the post-World War II context, as the full horror of the genocide that killed an estimated eleven million human beings on account of the supposed "impurity" of their races was becoming public, the dominant thinking on racial mixes underwent a major shift. It was publicized internationally, starting in a pamphlet in 1950 that summarized the findings reached by UNESCO scientists regarding the "Race Question." Rather than a deviation from the norm or a risk with unforeseen consequences, racial mixing was deemed to be normal and to have occurred throughout history (UNESCO 1950: 8). By declaring that all humankind is equal, with no superior or inferior races, the document supports on a social-scientific basis the Charter of the United Nations. Article 2 of Chapter 1, outlining its "Purposes and Principles," states that the organization shall work "To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace" (United Nations 1945). India had become independent in 1947, and it was throughout the 1950s that most other European colonies became independent; a substantial number of them in 1960. Salazar, however, was unwilling to go with the flow of history: he wanted to hold on to the colonies but without calling them such, not only because of political correctness in the post-World War II context but because "colonies" had been the term preferred by republicans. So, he renamed them "provinces of the Overseas" in the ratifications to the Constitution made in June 1951; but in doing so, he revived the term used by nineteenth-century liberals, who believed in the existence of a political continuum and the eventual cultural integration of all Portuguese territories (Léonard 1999: 16). To substantiate the claim of the unity of all such lands and peoples, he reached out for the ideas of Brazilian sociologist, Gilberto Freyre: the time was right to appropriate Freyre's argument, first introduced in *Casa grande e senzala*, that the Portuguese, being originally a mixed race people, had a special aptitude for mixing with other races. The argument, although originally intended to rescue Brazilian society from the postulates of social Darwinism and scientific racism, was mobilized to support the continuation of Portuguese colonialism in Africa, India and Asia (Castelo 1998; Maio 1999).

At the invitation of Salazar's Minister of the Colonies, Sarmento Rodrigues, Gilberto Freyre visited Portugal and then cruised through

the "overseas provinces" between August 1951 and February 1952. He subsequently published the lectures and articles connected to the visit in the volume *Um Brasileiro em terras portuguesas* (1953—*A Brazilian in Portuguese Lands*). No longer the academic sociologist and, perhaps, romantic poet of 1930s but, rather, a self-described "escritor de aspirações independents" (Freyre 1953: 129—"writer with independent aspirations"), Freyre showed some apprehension regarding the potential accusation that he was bought by Salazar's regime. In the preface to the book, he repeats three times in slightly different ways in little under three full pages that his proposed "luso-tropicology" is not meant to support Portuguese imperialism. He asserts that its basis is the study of the ways in which the Portuguese adapt to life in the tropics, "não ao jugo imperial, mas à especialíssima vocação transeuropeia da gente portuguesa" (9—"not forced by an imperial yoke but to the particularly special trans-European vocation of the Portuguese people"). Freyre states that he accepted the invitation with "inteira independência" ("full independence") and defends himself against accusations (from "leftists") that he was "vendido ao fascista Salazar" (1953: 11—"sold out to the fascist Salazar").

Legitimate or not at the time, such self-defense does not obviate the fact that Freyre's language differs markedly from the ambiguity with which he had described "Luso" racial mixtures in *Casa grande e senzala*.[14] In the 1937 essay "Aspectos da influência da mestiçagem sobre as relações sociais e de cultura entre portugueses e luso-descendentes" ("Aspects of the influence of miscegenation on social and cultural relations between Portuguese and Luso-descendants"), he considers miscegenation acts of "love" over the violence and dehumanization of the slave system (Freyre 1940: 42). By contrast, in the position paper delivered at the Vasco da Gama Institute, in Goa, in November 1951, "Uma Cultura Moderna: A Luso-tropical" ("A Modern Culture: the Luso-tropical"), Freyre takes on a reasoned, pseudo-scientific stance to describe racial mixtures. These become the bedrock of the study of "luso-tropicology," which he introduces but only after recognizing the change in a historical juncture calling out for decolonization and emancipation of all peoples. "O tempo é das populações de cor e da afirmação ou restauração dos seus valores de cultura" (Freire 1953: 142—"The time has come for peoples of color and for the affirmation or recuperation of their cultural values). It would seem that Freyre is anticipating the English Prime Minister Harold Macmillan's famous "winds of change blowing through the continent" speech of February 3, 1960, in Cape Town. Yet instead of proposing that Europeans support the liberation of peoples of color from the colonial yoke, Freyre goes on to note that the Portuguese have always had the ability to connect the values of peoples of

color to those of Europeans, thus creating "luso-tropical cultures" in Brazil, Africa and the Orient. He clearly distinguishes such special cultures from those "simple works of political art" created by other Europeans:

> Engenharia social, nos trópicos, raramente a souberam practicar estes europeus: continua a ser uma especialidade portuguesa. Daí o amor com que a língua portuguesa é falada nos trópicos por pretos, pardos, amarelos, vermelhos, morenos que nessa língua exprimem seus sentimentos mais íntimos e não apenas suas idéias convencionais. (Freyre 1953: 142)
>
> (Social engineering, in the tropics, these Europeans knew rarely how to practice it: it is still a specialization of the Portuguese. Hence the love with which the Portuguese language is spoken in the tropics by blacks, mulattoes, yellow, red, and tan-skinned, who express in that language their most intimate feelings and not only their conventional ideas.)

Borrowing from eugenic language the notion of "social engineering," the apologetic tirade outlines a reasoned, almost scientific plan of racial mixing that contradicts the common idea (held by other Europeans) that the Portuguese were weak and degenerate colonials who "went native" or became "kaffir-like." Salazar would most likely want the member states of the United Nations to hear Freyre's new argument as basis for continuing holding on to its "provinces" in the decade following World War II when other empires were getting ready to call it quits. It is unlikely, however, that the "social engineering" thesis displaced concerns going back to the 1920s and 1930s regarding the effect on the Portuguese "race" of sexual relations with natives in the African colonies. For the young fascist, Fernando de Castro Pires de Lima, for example, that effect would be the racial degeneration of his countrymen turned into "pobres pigmeus, sem vontade propria e sem grandeza" (Lima 1934: 17—"poor pygmies without a will and without grandeur"). Quite apart from morality, the issue was most likely whether and how the mixed-race offspring of such unions might endanger Portuguese control of their land—the land of their mothers and of their birth.

In the 1950s and beyond, from the perspective of the anti-colonial movements further encouraged by the Bandung Conference, held in April 1955 in Indonesia, the Lusotropicalist narrative represented no more than a farce. That same year the Angolan poet, Mário Pinto de Andrade (1928–1990), founder of the Movimento Popular de Liberação de Angola (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola), better known as MPLA, questioned the legitimacy of the Lusotropicalist narrative and rejected the

generalizations on which it stood. Writing under the pseudonym Buanga Fele in the influential journal *Présence Africaine*, which he edited between 1955 and 1958, he points out that Freyre had failed to take into account the fact that colonialism is an economic and political system of exploitation, something that needed to be brought to bear when discussing racial mixing (Fele 1955: 27). The following year, in 1956, the poet Baltasar Lopes (1907–1989) from Cape Verde also expressed criticism of Freyre's ideas, or the way in which Salazar's New State had appropriated them for colonial propaganda; more than ten years later, Amílcar Cabral would also denounce Lusotropicalism (Medina 2000). In 1963, historian Charles Boxer had proven the falsehood of the Lusotropicalist narrative in his groundbreaking *Race Relations in the Portuguese Empire*, which was logically rejected by Salazar and banned in Portugal (Schneider 2013). Still, Freyre's ideas could find resonance with the new thinking about "race" and racial mixing promoted by UNESCO's sponsored research. What he proposed regarding "social engineering," mixing races rather than keeping them apart, was likely appealing if seen from in the light of the genocide caused by Aryan supremacist thinking. That is not to say, however, that Salazar's regime encouraged miscegenation or that it was ever naturalized when involving a European ("white") woman and an African ("black") man.

Maria da Graça Freire's Cautionary Tale of Lusotropicalism

The novel *A terra foi-lhe negada* (1959—*The Land was Denied*) by Maria da Graça Freire (1919–1993) can be considered both a demonstration and a questioning of Gilberto Freyre's thinking appropriated for the fascist-colonialist regime's political purposes. According to Maria da Graça's nephew, writer Pedro Sena-Lino (2004), the novel was probably inspired by the marriage of one of her sisters to a mixed-race man who was a musician in Lisbon. The story dramatizes just how ingrained and difficult it was to overcome racist thinking while also exposing how the latter was connected to sexism and classism, even by those who seemed to go to great lengths to oppose the social injustices around them. It certainly refutes what anthropologist Jorge Dias (1907–1973) was writing and teaching at the time under the influence of Gilberto Freyre and American cultural anthropology (Macagno 2002).

At an academic conference held in 1958 in Frankfurt, Dias, who studied for his doctorate at the University of Munich, began by stating: "É sempre difícil a um português tratar problemas raciais perante um auditório estrangeiro, porque na realidade tal problema não existe em Portugal" (1960: 21—"It is always difficult for a Portuguese [person] to speak about racial problems

before a foreign audience, because in reality that problem is non-existent in Portugal"). This position completely contradicts what his predecessor in the Chair of Anthropology at the University of Oporto, Mendes Correia, had famously stated in the 1934 Congress of Colonial Anthropology: the *mestiço* or mixed-blood is "um ser imprevisto no plano do mundo: uma experiência infeliz dos portugueses" (Corrêa 1934: 332—"an unexpected being in the world's plan: an unfortunate experience of the Portuguese"). In a paper delivered at the 1940 Congress on the Portuguese World, Mendes Correia would go on to advise against racial mixing on the grounds that one could never predict what the results would be from such "a lottery" (Cleminson 2014: 230–31). Deliberately or not, Maria da Graça Freire's novel *A terra foi-lhe negada* tests out this line of thinking in the context of the late 1950s amidst the changing official discourse on "race."

Centered on a mixed-race man atypically named Floriano and derogatorily called "o preto" or "the black," the novel is a fictional autobiographical memoir by a woman in her thirties, named Inês (Agnes). She works as a schoolteacher and is the mother of a seven-year old boy, who confronts her with the painful charge that another boy at school has called him a "mulatto." The name of the child offender, Dick, promptly suggests to the intended (Portuguese) reader the supposed racism of the British. The contrast was widely used to set off the supposed non-racism of the Portuguese and to suggest, as Jorge Dias did in the Frankfurt lecture referenced above, that among his people there is no distinction between black and white and expressions of racism are only due to the influence of foreigners (1960: 21). Yet the novel shows the racism of those nationals surrounding the narrator, from her father's stern disapproval of her marriage with a man of color to the strangers in the street who look at him with a mixture of curiosity and fear (Freire 1959: 95–98); and are shocked at seeing they had a religious wedding (135–36). Ironically, as if it did not exist in her environment, the narrator echoes the cultural commonplace proffered by Jorge Dias relative to "o ponto de vista rácico que noutro povos levanta tanta celeuma" (1960: 178—"the racial perspective that raises so much conflict among other people"). She furthermore accentuates the distance between normative beliefs of family morality in Salazar's state and people's actual actions. A good example is the ostentatious, patriotic speech of her husband's godfather about the non-racism of the Portuguese; she indicates that he is a crook, having taken financial advantage of the estate that he has managed since the death of her husband's father (222).

The confessional narrative, often interrupted by self-conscious considerations of the limits of memory, language and truth, sheds light on the historical, social and cultural context in which the action takes place.

It could be said to amount to a cautionary tale of Lusotropicalism, with important twists of gender and location: rather than the story of a lonely Portuguese man sheltered and comforted by a native woman in Africa, Freire's novel presents an educated young woman from an upper-class rural background (Inês) who falls in love with a mixed-race man from Angola living in the metropole with his sister. They all live in the same boarding house, presumably in Lisbon, where Inês attends a teacher's college during the period of agitation for social change following the end of World War II. "Depois da guerra a revolução andava no ar" (Freire 1959: 149—"After the war the revolution was in the air"), notes the narrator. Considering that the protagonist's name, Floriano, suggests flowers and the narrator's name, Inês (Agnes) evokes purity, it is likely that they are meant to represent the innocence and passion of young idealists in the period during which political mobilization coalesced around anti-racism and anti-colonialism. The story ends with the estranged husband's death from syncope in 1951, sometime after being imprisoned by Salazar's infamous political police for suspicious communist activity.

The contextual comment, early in the novel, about students of color from the colonies moving to the metropole to study (Freire 1959: 38) implicitely evokes the Casa dos Estudantes do Império (House of Students from the Empire). The famous cultural, health and recreational center was officially founded in 1944 by the Minister of Colonies to help students from the overseas attending institutions of higher learning in the colonial metropole to integrate. One of its goals was to encourage the cultivation of African cultural expression but only inasmuch as it was part of the supposed multicontinental Portugal. Many of those who would eventually lead the wars of liberation against Portuguese colonialism initially met at the Casa dos Estudantes do Império, where they also began working toward the liberation of their respective countries and composing some of the literature that in many ways ushered in political independence. The names of Agostinho Neto, Mário Pinto de Andrade, Marcolino dos Santos, Amílcar Cabral and Pepetela come here to mind; Pepetela's novel, *A geração da utopia* (1992—*The Generation of Utopia*) captures the memory of that period (Pedro Ferreira 2016).

Perhaps not unlike Floriano, the protagonist of Freire's novel, the students who met at the Casa dos Estudantes do Império wanted to believe in the ideal that all races were equal in the Portuguese empire. Or, more properly, those students were represented by Portuguese patriots as verbalizing that important propaganda notion, even as they were experiencing racism in the colonial metropole. In 1945, Maria de Figueiredo, also known as Tia (Aunt) Néné, published a juvenile novella about the topic of the bright and

promising African mixed-race student who becomes deeply disappointed with the racism and hostility he encounters among his peers in Lisbon (Figueiredo 1945). The title affirms, however, his supposed enduring belief—*Eu também sou português* (*I'm Also Portuguese*)! So that the opposite might be affirmed, that is, so that the African students who study in Lisbon might identify themselves as Angolan, Mozambican, Guinean, Cape Verdean, and so on, they forged ties with comrades in Portugal and elsewhere who collaborated in the anti-colonial and anti-fascist fight, for one presupposed the other in Salazar's Portugal.

In Freire's novel, the Angolan man's last moral downfall is in fact connected with his association with the clandestine political activity going on in Portugal's southern province of the Alentejo, where the couple moves due to the narrator's job as a public schoolteacher. The region is associated with the Portuguese Communist Party, surely due to the type of plantation-based economy historically prevailing there. The Party's resolution to support anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism took place in 1957 after the Soviet Communist Party announced that decision at its twentieth congress (Rosas 2015: 17). Maria da Graça Freire must have been well-informed: it was not by chance that she included in her novel the anti-colonial musings of a Party member with whom Floriano associates (227–28). Symptomatically, the narrator feels the need to assert that her husband is not a communist (241), the suggestion being that the "bad company" he keeps is to blame for his increasing violence, extramarital affairs and alcoholism. The stereotype of the innocent African man-child, the flower that his first name recalls (Floriano), invites that interpretation.

Rather than an "individual," notes the fictional writer, Floriano is meant to be "a symbol" (178), whose anti-exemplary pedagogical character she announces earlier in the novel. He is said to represent "as raças pátrias desambientadas" (45—"the dislocated national races"), that is, assimilated Africans living in Europe. Writing in the journal *Présence Africaine* at about the same time (i.e. 1958), Jacques Howlett remarks that the journal became a venue for negro writers to write about themselves against the current of "white history" that had considered the negro "an insoluble problem" (1958: 142). Maria da Graça Freire's novel might be considered a local version of that "white history" current—a European Portuguese version of the late 1950s.

The narrator declares that she writes in an attempt to understand Floriano's "personality" and his "inadaptação" or maladjustment to Portuguese society (1958: 90). Throughout the narrative she exposes the false, perverse moral of the institution of the Portuguese family, and the violence and racism that it harbors.[15] But, incrementally, she also shows that the racism out there, the one that she challenges by marrying the mulatto man, is also within herself.

She ends up calling him "bruto" and "negro" (248—"brutish" and "negro"), thus synthesizing the stereotypical racist attributes inherited from scientific racism that she imputes on Floriano's personality and behavior: lack of critical judgment; laziness; emotional instability; passive-aggressiveness; violence; cowardice vis-à-vis powerful white men, among others.

The confessional-like narrative unveils her guilt about her husband's tragedy due to her vanity, that is, her sense of moral superiority in relation to those around her. That sense had led her to protect Floriano from the racism of others, to protect him "maternally," as if she were his "white mother" (119, 180, 271). The holiness or purity she bears in her name, Inês (Agnes), makes her confront her part in her husband's tragedy. Yet contradicting the tenor of the entire story, she concludes by stating that Floriano's "inadaptação residia mais em si do que nos outros" (296—"his inability to adapt was harbored more in himself than in others").

The fact the novel was recognized with the Eça de Queiroz prize by the government's Secretariado Nacional de Informação (National Secretariat of Information), which succeeded the Secretariat of Propaganda in 1945, should give one pause. As historian Luís Torgal reminds us, the awards tended to be given to writers and works that followed the tenets of the regime, namely, acceptance of class stratification, "nationalism, colonial imperialism, the motto 'God, fatherland, family' …" He rightly notes the poor literary quality of those works, making an exception for the critically acclaimed *A sibila* (1954—*The Sybil*) by Agustina Bessa Luís (Torgal 2009, II, 127–29). In an unprecedented and apparently courageous way, Maria da Graça Freire writes a story of mixed-race love in which the expected gender terms are switched and set against multiple examples of racism in the metropolitan Portuguese society of the post-World War II period. The novel paints in such a dramatic, pessimistic way the manifestation of the so-called problem of those identified derogatorily as "negro" that young women might be discouraged from getting romantically involved with the increasing number of African students living in the metropole. Aside from the author's sister having a mixed-race African boyfriend who then became her husband, other Portuguese young women indeed married men of color, university students like themselves. A case in point is Maria Helena Rodrigues (1927–), first wife of Amílcar Cabral (1924–1973), who was a student of agronomy like himself. They married in 1951 after five years of courtship, had two daughters and eventually divorced in 1966 (Castanheira 2016). By then, Cabral had given himself completely to the leadership of the anti-colonial movement of Cape Verde and Guinea-Bissau (PIAG) and had taken on a new partner, this time a mixed-race woman from Guinea-Bissau, Ana Maria Cabral. Perhaps better known is the Portuguese Maria Eugénia

dos Santos (1934–), who married the future first president of Angola, a poet himself, Agostinho Neto, in 1958, on the very day he graduated from the University of Coimbra with a degree in medicine. He had previously been imprisoned (1955 and 1957) by Salazar's political police on the grounds of "subversive activity," something that attracted the attention of several prestigious French writers and philosophers and, notably, that of Cuban poet Nicolás Guillén ("A família").

Even if it had been legally allowed and practiced in the imaginary Portugal that Salazar extended "from Minho to Timor," as imperialistic propaganda would have it after the 1950s, interracial marriage had an implied gender norm (i.e. a white man and a non-white woman) that the couple in Freire's novel contradicts. And the real-life marriages of Amílcar Cabral and Agostinho Neto with Portuguese women—just to mention publicly known ones—corroborate as something doable in the period, at least in Lisbon and other metropolitan centers. Maria Archer asserts that much in contrast to the colonies, where marriages between white women and black men are "extremamente raras e sensacionais" (1963: 138—"extremely rare and sensational").

Considering also the status of the woman-mother in the fascist-colonialist state, a young white woman's desire for a man of color, a desire of course domesticated by normative marriage and preferably in the public eye in a Catholic church, points to the boldness of at least some women in the 1950s willing to test the fascist-colonialist Lusotropicalist myth; and perhaps, more broadly, the intersection of white racist, masculine and patriarchal norms that were certainly not limited to Portuguese imperialism.

Maria Archer in Brazil: Turning Imperial Propaganda Against Colonialism

Even though the presence of settler families, and hence of women, in the two major African colonies began to increase in the late 1940s, the period coincides with the rise of anti-colonial movements followed by decolonization by most European empires throughout the 1950s. According to Norrie MacQueen, "[b]etween 1955 and 1968 the white population of Angola tripled from 100,000 to 300,000, while in the period from 1950 to 1968 that of Mozambique quadrupled from 50,000 to 200,00 out of total populations of, respectively, 5½ million and 8¼ million" (1997: 10). The untimely increase of white settlers in the two major Portuguese African colonies could not but be noted with dismay by those critical of Portuguese colonialism in the first place. But the Lusotropicalist exception seems to have had its believers as well. This seems to be the case with the Canadian Hispanist, Richard

Pattee, who follows up on Gilberto Freyre's 1953 books with one of his own, based on the cruise through the Portuguese colonies that he himself took as an academic. It was published by the Portuguese government agency, Agência Geral do Ultramar, with the title *Portugal em África: Impressões e reflexões de viagem pela África portuguesa* (1959—*Portugal in Africa: Impressions and Thoughts of a Trip through Portuguese Africa*). Pattee remarks approvingly that the Portuguese are arriving, ready to colonize, while the English or French colonist is on the way out: "com as malas arrumadas, pronto para a partida precipitada quando as circunstâncias assim o exigirem" ("all packed up, ready to leave quickly once the circumstances demand it"). And he adds with enthusiasm: "Quem pensa em vir para África colonizar? Ninguém, a não ser os portugueses" (99—"Who thinks of coming to Africa to colonize? Nobody, except the Portuguese").

From the perspective of those opposed to Salazar's politics, whether or not subscribers to Lusotropicalism, the final coming into being of settler colonialism in the African colonies and eventual arrival of military contingents to fight anti-colonial insurrection were alarming. Salazar's going against the course of European history—which had already had its period of late empire—could only be calamitous for the legacy of Portuguese colonial culture in Africa. This is the view espoused by Maria Archer in the preface of her book *Brasil, fronteira da África* (1963—*Brazil, Africa's Frontier*), published in São Paulo where she sought exile in December of 1955, joining other members of the democratic opposition to Salazar's government exiled in Brazil (Elizabeth Baptista 2007: 56–57).

She was prompted to do so after being insistently harassed by the state's political police (PIDE), who were looking for the notes that she had taken as a journalist for the newspaper *República* of the court hearings of retired General Henrique Galvão, in December of 1952. Galvão, the award-winning colonial novelist and organizer of the First Colonial Exhibit referred to earlier, denounced the continuing practice of forced indigenous labor in a confidential report presented to the National Assembly in 1947, when he was a delegate for Angola. He became a bold dissident of Salazar's colonial regime and was brought to trial by a military tribunal for supposed conspiracy against the state. At the end of 1959, in Brazil, Maria Archer would go on to publish her notes of Galvão's trial proceedings, *Os últimos dias do fascismo em Portugal* (1959—*The Last Days of Fascism in Portugal*); the book was immediately banned in Portugal.

Against the background of the armed anti-colonial struggle going on in Angola, there is something ominous about Maria Archer's *Brasil, fronteira da África*, her last published book. It recycles essays published since the 1930s, but includes a new one originally presented as a public lecture in São Paulo

in 1960, with the title “Presença da mulher na paisagem social da África portuguesa” (“Presence of Women in the Social Landscape of Portuguese Africa”). It reads as a semi-ethnographic description of different types of women and their lives, representing various racial and ethnic groups. In between such descriptions, there appears a diagnosis of the failure of Portuguese colonialism in Africa as compared to what it had accomplished in Brazil. Archer suggests that women have a central role to play in that failure, indicating that the time has come for the Portuguese government to give up the colonial project.

The essay opens with a strong critique of the lack of cultural specificity or “regionalism” that characterizes Angola’s “social landscape.” Extending the argument also to Mozambique, Archer notes that, contrary to what had happened in Brazil centuries before, in the African colonies there was never a substantial elite of Portuguese women. She has in mind women-mothers who are also conscious, dedicated colonizers intent on mixing the various local cultures with the Portuguese (Archer 1963: 121, 129, 163). “[U]ma civilização só se fixa e define através da mulher” (“a civilization is only fixed and defined through [by] women”)—she notes, evoking the nineteenth-century common sense discussed earlier in Chapter 1 and revisited in the analysis of Maria Amélia Rodrigues’s *Adão e Eva*, in Chapter 2. As for the “thousands” of poor white women descendants of the masses who had emigrated to Africa since the nineteenth century, Archer points out that they lacked the cultural preparation to resist the physical and human hostility of the environment. Not unlike the daughters of other Europeans already born in Africa, “[a]derem também ao nacionalismo africano” (145—“[t]hey also join African nationalism”). Contrary to what might be expected, Archer points out in this essay that the number of mixed-race Africans is small and “sem influência no ambiente social” (123—“with no influence in the social milieu”). The observation gives the lie to the argument that Angola would be transformed into another Brazil (supposedly of *mestiço* people) if Portugal were to remain as a colonial power. Her conclusion bitterly turns around the terms that authorized European colonialism in the first place: “O nacionalismo africano encontrará as colónias portuguesas na integridade do neolítico. Pode moldar nelas o triunfo da negritude sem esbarrar com marcas do colonialismo” (Archer 1963: 166—“African nationalism will find the Portuguese colonies in the purity of the Neolithic age. It can mold them into the triumph of negritude without having to bump against colonial traces”).

Despite the many differences separating them, Maria Archer’s condemnation of Salazar’s colonialism partly resonates with that of Angolan poet Mário Pinto de Andrade in the essay that prefaces the groundbreaking collection, *Antologia da poesia negra de expressão portuguesa* (*Anthology of*

Negro Poetry of Portuguese Expression), published in Paris in 1958. Adding to his 1955 pioneering critique of Lusotropicalism, cited earlier in this chapter, he notes that miscegenation is no longer common: "parece-me contrariada, fora de uso, só Deus sabe por que razões …" (Andrade 1958: ix—"it seems to me that it is disapproved, fallen out of use, only God knows the reasons …"). The reasons for a reduction in miscegenation seems to be related to the substantial increase of white settler families after the late 1940s, when more families emigrated from Portugal and more women joined those already there (Castelo 2007: 20, 274).[16] That would have followed the pattern that Ann Stoler identified with respect to the arrival of women in other European colonies in an earlier period (1989: 239). Moreover, for the Angolan intellectual, Portuguese colonialism, also not unlike other European colonialisms, did not create specific, regional cultures that would distinguish one community from another. According to Andrade's view, there is nothing specifically "Lusotropicalist" that would unite culturally the different colonies and their peoples (1958: x). One wonders whether, from his exile in Paris and in the company of francophone African writers and intellectuals among other diasporic Africans, Mário Pinto de Andrade gave a second thought to how the Portuguese language might have functioned to construct—or to summon—that absent cultural commonality, if nothing else, for the purpose of mobilization for armed struggle against the common colonizer.

Returning to Maria Archer's preface in the volume *Brasil, fronteira da Africa*, which includes the essay "Presence of Women in the Social Environment of Portuguese Africa," she shows how the Portuguese language became the lever of anti-colonial alarm. The writer addresses the volume to Brazilian readers whom she hopes to mobilize against "a *gang* colonialista de Salazar" ("Salazar's colonialist gang"), so that at least one "colonial trace" be kept—the Portuguese language (1963: 5–8). In her view, Brazil should be the legitimate post-colonial guardian of the Portuguese language against encroachment by English and French in the African territories (formerly) colonized by Portugal. Archer was not politically naïve. On the one hand, she relied on Brazilian nationalist pride, validated particularly after the publication of Stefan Zweig's famous essay *Brasil, país do futuro* (1941—*Brazil, Country of the Future*). But also, and perhaps more importantly, under the presidency of João Goulart (September 1961–April 1964) Brazil's democratic context invited a rejection of Salazar's fascist-colonialist regime. Following his predecessor, Jânio Quadros (January–August 1961), Goulart did not indulge in the typical discourse of historical affect uniting Brazil and Portugal and did not support Portuguese colonialism in Africa (Rampinelli 2004: 85; 104–06). Hence, Archer argued that the Brazilian

government should deliver the people of Angola from Salazar's troops, due to the common "Bantu blood" making the two countries "brothers" (1963: 5–6). Turning around Gilberto Freyre's Lusocentric imperialism and the commonplace of Brazilian and Portuguese "brotherhood," she privileges the history of African slavery (i.e. Bantu) that is silenced by such diplomatic platitudes. It is hard to think of a better way to turn fascist-colonialist propaganda of Portuguese imperialism on its head.

Conclusion

In his preface to Maria Archer's "Herança lusíada," which appeared first in her *Terras onde se fala português* (1957—*Lands Where Portuguese is Spoken*), Gilberto Freyre praises the author for writing the most informative and sensitive descriptions of tropical people and cultures of any woman in the Portuguese language. He compares her to such English writers as Rebecca West and social anthropologists Ruth Benedict and Margaret Mead in their ability to represent non-Western people from a feminine perspective. Like them, Archer takes note of "the feminine side" of those people and their cultures, something which—according to Freyre—is "quase impossível de ser apreendida pelo homem puramente masculino" (Freyre 1963: 10—"almost impossible to apprehend by the purely masculine man"). Criticizing the absence of any woman (or man of color other than himself) from a committee of social scientists hosted by UNESCO in 1948, Freyre states, "Sou dos que não compreendem estudo moderno de matéria social complexa a que falte a colaboração de uma mulher" (1963: 10—"I'm one of those who does not understand how a modern study of a complex social subject can be carried out without the collaboration of a woman"). While he points out that Maria Archer does not have the scientific education that would enable her to do the work of a social scientist, Freyre describes her writing as being almost a "ensaio de lusotropicologia" ("Lusotropicalist essay") falling under the new area studies that he created (11).

Maria Archer dedicates *Herança Lusíada* to Freyre, "que entendeu, como ninguém, a realidade universalista do luso-tropicalismo" ("who understood, like no one else, the universalist character of luso-tropicalism"). And his endorsement of her work is connected to his relation with the well respected intellectual António Sérgio (1883–1969), the editor of the progressive journal *Seara Nova*, in which Archer published two essays in the 1930s on *Casa grande e senzala*. The problem, however, was that by the late 1950s Freyre's work was already compromised by its association with the Portuguese colonialist regime, which published his long essay *Integração portuguesa nos trópicos* (1958—*Portuguese Integration in the Tropics*). (The war

for independence in Angola had begun in 1961.) Which is not to say that Archer, like many other Portuguese and Brazilian intellectuals of her day, did not want to hold on to the ecumenical Lusotropicalist ideal, one they considered the Portuguese language expressed not in absolute terms but in relation to other languages of European empires. Hence the project that would become the much contested notion of Lusofonia from the mid-1990s had not only been suggested in Brazil four decades before but there had been a Brazilian Ambassador to Portugal between 1992 and 1994, José Aparecido de Oliveira, who encouraged the formation of the Comunidade de Países de Língua Portuguesa (Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries), which was formalized in 1996. This topic will be revisited in Chapter 5, when discussing post-colonial institutions, but it is important for the purposes of the present argument because after Gilberto Freyre's connection in 1951 of the Portuguese language to Lusotropical culture as a "modern" culture, Maria Archer is probably the writer and popular intellectual who most disseminated the concept of a Portuguese-speaking or Lusophone world centered not in Portugal but in Brazil. She did so as a member of an anti-fascist democratic community of Portuguese exiles who mobilized a good number of Brazilian and Lusophone African writers (Elizabeth Baptista 2007: 110–23; Travancas 2017), in particular around the journal *Portugal Democrático* (*Democratic Portugal*). This substantiates what Cláudia Castelo, among others, has repeatedly pointed out, namely that the ideology of Lusotropicalism is not necessarily incompatible with pro-independence positions (Castelo 2011: 273–74). The argument would be amply and equivocally at play in the period after decolonization in 1975, as we will see in Chapter 5. Meanwhile, Lusotropicalism was the cynical basis of Salazar's decreeing that Angola and eventually Portuguese Guinea and Mozambique must continue to be part of Portugal, "from Minho to [East] Timor," by violent military means, and paradoxically by an unprecedented surge in settler colonialism.

Notes

1 Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre, whose work will be discussed later in this chapter, is normally credited with the argument that Portuguese colonialism was less racist and violent than others. Charles Boxer's *Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire* (1963) provided an important scholarly rebuttal to that argument although conceding to the apparently frequent practice of interracial sex.

2 For an accessible list of narratives, scholarly works, TV programs, films and other memorabilia on what, in Portuguese culture, continues to be referred to as the "Colonial War," see www.guerracolonial.org/home.

3 In the third part of her ambitious social history monograph, Castelo does reference some colonial literature in addition to newspaper articles and oral history sources, but does so supeficially and mostly from secondary sources. For an abbreviated version in English, see Castelo 2012.

4 Clarence-Smith 1985 refers to an increase of what he calls "the problem of miscegenation" after the 1920s (136). The use of "problem," with or without quotation marks, appears frequently in references to racial mixing.

5 Cleminson, a historian of sexuality primarily in the Iberian Peninsula, excludes literary texts from his excellent summary of eugenics in Portugal, following mostly anthropological sources (2014); Castelo, a historian, does not go beyond acknowledging Francisco Noa's mention of miscegenation in his book on colonial literature (2007: 288–89); Matos, an anthropologist, omits literature in a book devoted to "Racial Representations in the Portuguese Empire" (2006).

6 Judging from census data, the number of Portuguese (presumably in the metropole) in 1910 and 1920 is almost the same due to the volume of emigration during this period (Marques 1986: 289); Pimenta 2010: 43).

7 See Ferreira 2012 for an overview of Maria Lamas's work as a novelist and an intellectual who was increasingly opposed to Salazar's New State.

8 For women as symbols of nation see, for example, Yuval-Davis 1997.

9 See Klobucka 2002 for an illuminating interpretation of how *The Lusiads*' famous episode may be the urtext for Gilberto Freyre's Lusotropicalist narrative.

10 Historian Rui Ramos refers to the communities of Portuguese immigrants in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo around 1920 as the "other 'colonies.'" He also asserts that the Portuguese, next to the Japanese, were the immigrants who were likely to marry outside of their own ethnicities (1994: 588).

11 Cláudia Castelo notes that in certain areas of settler colonialism churches, houses and even names of streets essentially duplicated the traditional rural village that was Salazar's ideal of the national community (2007: 261). Released as a single in 1953, Amália Rodrigues' *fado* song "Um casa portuguesa" would come to echo with irony that ideal, with its normative model of a family home promoted by fascist propaganda since the second half of the 1930s.

12 See Coetzee for a discussion of *God's Step-Children* and its place in the literature of miscegenation (1988: 136–62).

13 For a full summary of Eusébio Tamagnini's ideas against miscegenation, following the paper he delivered at the 1934 Colonial Congress, "Os problemas das mestiçagem," see Cleminson 2014: 214–22.

14 See Curto 2015 for an analysis of Freyre's thinking regarding the oscillation between integration and conflict between social opposites in *Casa grande e senzala* (1933).

15 The most scandalous example is an honorable *pater familias* who tries to force one of his young female workers, who happens to be Floriano's sister, to take drugs and engage in sexual perversions; she ends up imprisoned for killing him in self-defense.

16 Cláudia Castelo alerts us to the discrepancy between numerical data and qualitative sources regarding the number of mixed-race people in Angola in the post-World War II period (2007: 291n69).

CHAPTER FOUR

The Coloniality of Gender and the Colonial War

On April 19, 1961, a controversial article appeared in *Via Latina*, the journal of the Academic Association of the University of Coimbra. Titled "Carta a uma jovem portuguesa" ("Letter to a Young Portuguese Woman"), it was written by an anonymous male student who subsequently identified himself as Artur Marinha da Silva.[1] He exhorts a female counterpart to bring down the wall separating the genders and thereby upholding the double moral standard consecrating male privilege. He goes on to criticize the new freedom that female students claimed to have in what he refers to derogatorily as the "festa" ("party"), pointing out not only the restricted and conditional nature of that freedom but also its dependency on that of males, not unlike the serf whose desire is subservient to the desire of the master. He proposes that males and females should both reject a lie, a socially imposed convention masked as love, and that the female student join the male in the struggle for a common freedom, one shared with others elsewhere in the world working toward "a complete humanization of society" (Silva 1961: 4).

The anonymous piece caused a public uproar on the grounds that it was an incitement to "free love" and, as such, an insult to the decency of female students and the sacrosanct institution of marriage. Those who criticized it as "communist" were far and few.[2] Not one word was then or has since been proffered about the crucial political moment, not only in fascism but also in colonialism, when the "Carta" appeared. Just two days after its publication, the first military contingent was deployed to fight the liberation struggle that had erupted in Angola just one month earlier, in March 1961. It is unlikely that Silva wrote the text unware of Salazar's urgent call to arms, "Para Angola rapidamente e em força" ("To Angola quickly and massively"), which was thereafter undistinguishable from the call to settle and populate Angola with white Portuguese. It may be that Artur Marinha da Silva wrote the infamous "Carta" inspired by the reading of Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex*, which was widely read by university students at the time (Bebiano and Silva 2004: 425, 442). But his analogy between the relation of men and

women with that of masters and serfs needs to be read in light of the position against colonialism that the Portuguese Communist Party had finally made official in its 5th Congress, in 1957 (Rosas 2015; Francisco Rodrigues 2016). The phrase "a complete humanization of society" points, indeed, to an all-out social revolution and not, or not primarily, a sexual one. That goal would be antithetical to colonialism not on the grounds of a separate, supposedly feminine sphere of domesticity and peace, but rather on a shared, and "collective" at that, anti-imperialist political conviction. Acquiring the latter would depend upon not only rejecting women's oppression but, more specifically—as the text suggests from the start—the culturally normative model of love founded on the unequal relation between a man and a woman, with the gender privilege of one over the other.

It is that model of love which comes under attack in *Novas cartas portuguesas* (1972) by Maria Isabel Barreno (1936–2016), Maria Teresa Horta (1937–) and Maria Velho da Costa (1938–). The small press that took on the challenge to publish it was directed by a poet, artist and scholar, Natália Correia (1923–1993), who became famous for her defiance of patriarchal ideology. The authors, who shared common educational, professional and family experiences as part of Lisbon's middle class, had already published important books that identified them as feminists when they decided to meet weekly to exchange with each other and discuss individual pieces of writing. They did so over the course of nine months, from March through October 1971, and the result was an experimental, hybrid text composed of mostly short chapters presented as letters, but also as essays and poetry. Lyrical passages stressing the embodied, gendered and erotic experiences of female writing subjects alternate with sociological, historiographical, anthropological and literary expositions, following no particular organization or narrative thread. Coming up repeatedly, however, is the ideological collision between, roughly, an anti-imperialist/anti-capitalist position and a feminist, woman-centered one. The latter is what attracted the attention of the international feminist community after the book was apprehended by the government's police and the authors charged with "'abuse of the freedom of the press' and 'outrage to public decency'" (in Barreno et al. 1994: 7), a national scandal that went unreported in Portugal due to censorship (Tavares 2008: 125).[3]

Several passages throughout the text, sometimes in the context of claiming a female-centered eroticism or a non-hierarchical model of love, denounce the persistence of patriarchal attitudes that are demeaning to women. Politically progressive men are not immune from attack: they are said to enjoy gender privilege in their everyday personal relations while calling for a broader collective struggle against fascism and imperialism.

With deliberate irony, some of the texts show how that state of things is and has been historically supported by feminine sexual desire unleashed under the banner of sexual liberation. That conundrum reappears in several pieces of *New Portuguese Letters* in connection with the act of writing, calling attention to how all forms of colonialism are cast and reproduced upon the love dyad. Even though the authors do not use the phrase themselves, the text overall shows the coloniality of gender that along with race and labor structures the hierarchical social order is used to administer colonial populations both at home and in the so-called *Ultramar* or "overseas."

The notion of "coloniality of gender" has circulated in recent years primarily in connection with the thinking of US-based Argentinian philosopher Maria Lugones. She draws from the watershed work of Peruvian sociologist Aníbal Quijano (2000), who introduced the concept of the "coloniality of power" to describe how the colonial power matrix set up in the Americas by Iberian colonialisms, along with and as part and parcel of Eurocentric forms of knowledge, continue to structure Latin American societies. To racial classification as the basic discriminating structure of social difference, Lugones adds that of gender and sexuality. She points out that the Judeo-Christian European gender system was imposed on indigenous peoples in dichotomous terms of male and female and obeying a heterosexist and patriarchal logic. Hence, the coloniality of gender goes hand in hand with that of normative heterosexuality. Lugones mentions that her thinking can be traced back to that of women of color who, in the 1960s and 1970s, mounted critiques of bourgeois white feminism, which excluded them. But, deliberately or not, she ignores the critique of imperialism mounted in the same period by a number of white feminists who denounced the sexism of anti-imperialist thinkers and activists, as was the case with Franz Fanon. We will return to this point below.

A number of texts in the Three Maria's book refer to the war delivered by the Portuguese government against independence fighters in African colonies, otherwise known as the "colonial war," grounding the critique of the coloniality of gender historically, socially and culturally. Those chapters offer a cross-section of a society dealing with the pain, violence, both real and symbolic death, disability and trauma affecting people in the metropolis as well as in the colonies. *New Portuguese Letters*, however, virtually ignores the irrecuperable tragedy of the African people and their cultures and lands, not only during the so-called colonial war but throughout the duration of Portugal's presence in the continent. It is, without apology, a Eurocentric if anti-colonial text of its time and place.

The present chapter focuses on the centrality of *New Portuguese Letters* for both the theoretical grounding and the illustration of the connection

between normative gender and sexuality and imperialism, specifically colonialist practices. That line of thinking surfaces in the texts suggesting in ostensibly gendered ways how the colonial war was perceived, experienced and imagined in the Portuguese metropolis ten years after the first military contingent was deployed to Angola. In those ten years, most Portuguese families had had one or more of their males serve in the compulsory military service, which, beginning in 1968, stipulated a "commission" of a minimum of two years in the so-called "overseas." The government had not admitted in those ten years, nor would it ever admit, that anything other than the actions of "policing" and "pacification" of "terrorists" who wanted to break apart and usurp the national territory was going on in that fuzzy "overseas" (see, for example, Campos 2017). So, beyond calling attention to how anti-fascist/anti-imperialist agendas and women's liberation struggles clashed in much the same way as they clashed everywhere else in the 1960s and early 1970s, the text pays witness to the injustice and the violence of the colonial war in no uncertain terms. And it does so particularly by shedding light on how cultural myths of gender and sexuality were the handmaids of war in Portuguese colonialism's last ditch to last indefinitely. For never before the period during which the colonial war played out on three African fronts—after Angola, struggles for independence broke out in Guinea-Bissau in 1963 and in Mozambique in 1964—did so many families settle there, including soldiers' families (Peralta 2018: 85–86).

The regime's creation of a Portuguese Economic Space in 1962, which removed any previous barriers to immigration to the African colonies and made it free; the substantial economic growth during the war; and strong information campaigns to encourage immigration to the colonies all account for the huge increase of settlers, especially in Angola and Mozambique, during the war period (Castelo 2012: 112–18). Consciously or not, colonial settlers became the instruments of the fascist regime's determination to retain the long drawn-out empire as an integral part of the fatherland. For no matter how delusional it may seem from temporal and ideological distances, the famous 1934 propaganda poster, "Portugal não é um país pequeno" ("Portugal is not a small country") continued, in the 1960s, to be pretty ubiquitous not only in public spaces but in people's hearts.[4]

Because *New Portuguese Letters* emerged in a specific historical context of ostensible gender construction and interpelation, we will first peruse the official mechanisms modeling appropriate gender behaviors mobilized as a response to the war and then follow with an overview of the feminist or, at the very least, women-centered groups and activities of resistance not only to the former but also to the colonial war as such. It is in light of those activities, which sought international solidarity, that *New Portuguese Letters*

will be perused in the second and main part of the chapter. After discussing how the polyvocal and complex text resonates at a theoretical level with the conflict between feminist expressions and anti-imperialist movements of the late 1960s, we will focus on an important and heretofore unidentified public archive of colonial war trauma not incidentally presented within the context of the mutually constitutive violence of love and war. The final part of the chapter revisits the latter from the perspective of post-colonial memorialist novels of the 1980s written by women who, in their very personal lives, both collaborated with and questioned how the coloniality of gender fed directly into colonialism and specifically the colonial war.

Women and the Colonial War

In one of the earliest studies aiming to rescue from oblivion those who contributed to the colonial war through typical feminine roles, Maria Augusta Faria da Costa states quite compellingly that, based on periodical sources, "Os homens do regime decidiram a guerra, mas esta fará emergir um conjunto de mulheres que assumirão especial protagonismo" (Costa 2002: 170—"The regime's men decided to go to war, but the latter brought about a number of women who would take on special leading roles"). Because the periodical press was submitted to censorship prior to publication, the ubiquity of articles dealing with women's responses to the colonial war demonstrates to what extent State propaganda casts them as protagonists of the patriotic defense going on in the metropolis as complement to whatever other means were being used to defend what fascist discourse called, "the integrity of the fatherland" on African soil. A number of those articles appeared in the official publications of fascist women's groups, namely *Menina e Moça*, the magazine of the female youth organization Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina, created in 1936, and *Presença*, of the Movimento Nacional Feminino, created just after the war started in Angola (Azevedo 2011). As part of the intensive campaign to legitimize the colonial war, a number of newspaper articles were published reporting the presence of women of all social classes in public shows of support for Salazar since the departure of the first contingent of troops in April 1961. The "presence" of women in such media reports was emphasized even more in news reports during the Christmas season (Costa 2002: 151).[5]

The interest of a younger generation of women in capturing and giving voice to the oral histories of women from the previous generation has produced a number of works that memorialize the contribution of women to the colonial war. In 2007, Margarida Calafate Ribeiro published *África no feminino: As mulheres portuguesas e a guerra colonial* (*Africa in the Feminine:*

Portuguese Women and the Colonial War), a collection of oral narratives from women who had joined their husbands while they were serving the military in one of the African colonies fighting for independence. The documentary *Quem vai à guerra*, directed by Marta Pessoa and released in 2011, features women telling their stories prompted by letters and photographs sent home by soldiers. As the director put it in an interview, women served in the war as nurses and had joined husbands but the majority of women stayed put at home waiting for the return of their loved ones (Pessoa 2009). In 2015, journalist Sofia Branco likewise published a collection of women's narratives of the war. Titled *As mulheres e a guerra colonial*, the book's cover features a young woman writing a letter while sitting atop a window sill. Dressed in plaid pants and sporting short hair, she is the emblem of the modern young woman of the 1960s presumably fulfilling the patriotic "mission" of writing to a soldier in Africa. A caption reads, "Mães, filhas e namoradas. A retaguarda dos homens na frente da batalha" ("Mothers, daughters and girlfriends. The rearguard of men in the war front"). Visibly appealing to a more or less generalized nostalgia for the golden age of Portuguese colonialism during the years of the colonial war, Branco's book defines in advance not only what "women" meant but what their role was supposed to be in that context.

Branco's book cover in fact rehearses the propaganda associated with the fascist women's group, the Movimento Nacional Feminino (National Feminine Movement), whose history Silvia Espírito Santo published in 2003. The title, *Adeus até ao teu regresso*: *O movimento nacional feminino na guerra colonial (1961–1974)*, appropriates the soldier's formula of leave taking, "Goodbye until my return," and changes it to the voice of the woman saying goodbye to him (i.e. "until *your* return"), a voice that went unrecorded. In that book and elsewhere, the author describes the leadership role that the National Feminine Movement had in the "rearguard of the colonial war." Officially founded and aired on national television on Salazar's birthday on April 28, it was at first an elite group of twenty-five women many of whom with husbands holding government positions. Article 1 of its statures identifies it as a non-political association whose goal was to "congregar todas as mulheres portuguesas interessadas em prestar auxílio moral e material aos que lutam pela integridade do Território Pátrio" (in Neves and Calado 77—"to mobilize all Portuguese women interested in offering moral and material assistance to those who fight for the integrity of the Fatherland"). Under the motto, "Por Deus e pela Pátria" ("For God and Fatherland"), the National Feminine Movement offered emotional and material support to the families of soldiers who demonstrated need, continuing to attract new members even after criticisms of the colonial war

began to mount in the second half of the 1960s. At one point membership totaled 80,000, and included women who were not necessarily supporters of fascism or colonialism but felt the moral duty to be in solidarity with those in pain and to lend help (Espírito Santo 2008: 130). However, by the end of the 1960s, as the movement's activities became synonymous with the continuation of the war, it appears that even its leadership lost conviction: the families the movement helped had been reduced to twenty (Espírito Santo 2003: 19, 33).

Two of the most popular and long-lasting initiatives of the National Feminine Movement were the creation of free aerograms for soldiers, and aerograms at a minimal cost for those sending them from the metropolis, and the program "Madrinhas de guerra" ("War Sponsors," literally "War Godmothers"). Being by far the most ubiquitous demonstration of women as "the rearguard of the colonial war," those initiatives complement several programs of assistance to the soldiers and their families and the circulation of news reports whereby the Movement aimed to counteract "fake news" and pernicious hear-say about the war. As of 1967, according to an article published in *Presença*, the Movement had dispensed upwards of 73 million aerograms (in Neves and Calado: 82); and the number of War Sponsors reached 300,000 according to Espírito Santo's research (2008: 131). Many long-term courtships and even weddings eventually resulted from what had initially been presented to young women as their moral duty, their share of the patriotic "mission," to write to one or more soldiers in the war front by sending each soldier a letter every week; that was supposed to make him feel less emotionally isolated and distract him from the feelings of sadness and longing provoked by letters received from home (in Neves and Calado: 84).

Closely connecting normative gender roles, heterosexuality and epistolary discourse for the emotional support of soldiers but ultimately in defense of the war effort, euphemistically called, "serviço de soberania no ultramar" ("service of sovereignty in the overseas"), women were thus called to fulfill supposedly feminine actions of tactical defense against the potential enemies attacking the soldiers from behind, that is, from the very home front. Those enemies were not only some vague communist resistance to imperialism and fascism but, concretely, the emotional pain of everyday women and men in the face of a war that few understood and that the government consistently denied was happening while nonetheless compelling all young men to serve on it. In order to effectively repress public expressions of that pain especially during the departures of soldiers from the dock in Lisbon, members of the National Feminine Movement went around silencing those who cried out loud, commanding women to be

courageous and show abnegation in face of the patriotism and valor of the soldiers. Also, in order to neutralize the potential for mass political revolt during or ensuing from soldiers' departures, news circulated accusing those who cried out loud of being professional weepers not related at all to the soldiers (Costa 2002: 153–57).

Such "rearguard" defense maneuvers obviously presupposed the existence of opposition to the colonial war and to the regime that launched it. That opposition increased exponentially throughout the 1960s as news of soldiers dying reached home and as others came back with physical and/or psychological wounds, first-hand accounts of the war and an understanding of what was going on. In 1962, university students in Coimbra and then in Lisbon protested against the regime for not authorizing a meeting of students from the Universities of Porto, Coimbra and Lisbon to celebrate Students' Day, resulting in several of them being imprisoned and the student restaurant being closed by the police; students in Lisbon, followed by those in Coimbra, answered with a general strike (Cruzeiro 2009a). Numerous women are visible in photos inserted in articles outlining that history, which shows how Salazar's government lost favor with college-age men and women and, in some cases, with high school youth (e.g. Costa 2012). The presence of female students at open, public events of political contestation may be said to ensue from the practice of "convívios" or co-ed social gatherings of students, which the regime and its sympathizers saw as occasions that encouraged sexual immorality and communist infiltration. Here we are reminded of the "Letter to a Young Portuguese Woman" discussed earlier.

As with protests against the Vietnam War and imperialism that emerged in the United States and elsewhere in Europe and Latin America mobilizing the participation of women, in the second half of the 1960s Portuguese women increasingly took part in initiatives of opposition against the regime and specifically the war it was waging against African nationalists in Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique. In addition to university students, two additional groups composed fully or in part of women can be identified in that struggle: the Women's Democratic Movement and the progressive Catholics who, in the latter part of 1968, staged a manifestation against the colonial war that attracted international attention despite the government's quick erasure of the event. Even if the number of women taking action against the fascist-colonialist regime was, for the most part, restricted to the educated and politicized belonging to the urban bourgeoisie, as soldiers came back from their required war mission of at least two years, more and more stories circulated about the physical, mental and emotional horrors the military endured, compounded with the deaths they witnessed or heard about. Such stories, which *New Portuguese Letters* would boldly transcribe even

if within the bounds of literary art, could not leave people insensible. That also applied to those who, initially, like the National Feminine Movement, appealed to all women to do their share in the "mission" of defending "the integrity of the fatherland."

In 1968, a women's commission for elections to the National Assembly was authorized by Marcello Caetano, formerly the Rector of the University of Lisbon, who succeeded Salazar after a stroke incapacitated him. After the elections in 1969, the commission became the Movimento Democrático de Mulheres (Women's Democratic Movement), signaling a supposed openness to the rights of women by the new Prime Minister. The group, which would become the precursor of the post-April 25, 1974 Revolution, Comissão Nacional dos Direitos das Mulheres (National Commission for the Rights of Women), became the main organ for the defense of women and children and the assistance of political prisoners and, although underhandedly, a united front for peace and against the colonial war. Soon after its founding, a delegation was allowed to represent Portugal in the 6th World Congress on Women, held in Helsinki in June 1969. The occasion provided an opportunity for the denunciation of the fascist government in Portugal and its colonial war in Africa, gathering solidarity from the international women's community ("Mensagem"). That same year, the Movement distributed a report on the torture and abuses endured by political prisoners Sofia Ferreira and Alda Nogueira, who were imprisoned for twelve and nine years respectively (Tavares 2010: 137). In addition, and in spite of the continuing government ban on group meetings, it collected hundreds of women's signatures in a declaration against the colonial war, something that prompted women's protests throughout the country. For the celebration of International Women's Day, on March 8, 1970, which was likewise allowed by Caetano's regime, it organized a rally against the colonial war and it distributed a host of propaganda materials appealing for peace, and end to the war in Vietnam and in the Portuguese African colonies, in some cases convoking Pope Paul VI's calls for World Peace ("Apelo *à* Luta"). On June 17, 1970, a statement of solidarity in the name of Portuguese women with African women of Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique addressed to "Portuguese workers emigrated in France" was also distributed by a delegation of the group ("Comunicado").

While reaching out to women (and men) from different socioeconomic, professional and intellectual strata to form bounds of solidarity against the fascist regime, the Women's Democratic Movement stayed away from the normative, pro-government discourse of motherhood calling for renunciation as sons went away to the war. A good example of their discourse is the poem "Guerra" ("War") by Natércia Freire (1967: 154—*Antologia* 40).[6] That type of

message and associated notions of women's "mission" as mothers, part and parcel of a culture imbued with Catholicism, progressively lost ground as soldiers came back from the war wounded or dead; the latter at the expense of their own families. From the early 1960s, Catholic men and women thus became involved in opposing the regime and the colonial war (in Araújo 2008: 71—"Mulheres de abril" 2017); the journal *O Tempo e o Modo* is one of the intellectual platforms connected with that opposition (Estêvão 2000: 255).

It was Pope Paul VI's announcement that the first day of each year, beginning with January 1, 1968, should become a day of commemoration for peace for Catholics worldwide, that gave Catholic groups impetus to mobilize against the colonial war. Pamphlets were distributed in churches in Oporto and simultaneously on the night of December 31, 1968 at the Church of São Domingos in Lisbon, approximately 150 persons held a vigil after midnight mass celebrated by Cardinal Domingos Cerejeira, a longtime friend of Salazar, who had served as patriarch of Lisbon since 1929. In what was the first major public demonstration against the colonial war, the Cardinal was presented with the reason for the vigil and allowed those present in the church to hold a discussion until the early morning in the presence of the political police, who did not intervene (Estêvão 2000: 256–57; Lopes 2008; Tavares 2010: 144–46).

The incident leads one to believe that Marcello Caetano himself, then Prime Minister, was well aware of the opposition among Catholics, who occupied positions in his government. The case of Maria de Lurdes Pintasilgo (1930–2004) is a good example. Having been a leader of the Catholic Youth as a university student and subsequently of the international Catholic group Graal, in November of 1969 Caetano apparently invited Pintasilgo to be part of the "liberal" group of the National Assembly. A decade later, in October 1979, four months into her tenure as Prime Minister, she reported in an interview that she had refused Caetano's invitation on three grounds: "'ser contra a guerra colonial, pela redistribuição da riqueza e por uma via socializante e contra a corrupção do regime'" ("Pintasilgo" 1979—"'to be against the colonial war, for the redistribution of wealth and for a socialist path and against government corruption'"). The fact that she agreed to serve as Procurator in the Corporate Chamber of the National Assembly, a position she held from 1969 to 1974, suggests that at least in some cases the regime allowed for some internal opposition as long as it was discrete and not associated with communism. That is not unfortunately what happened on December 30, 1972, when a second demonstration against the colonial war was held in a church in Lisbon, the Rato Chapel, led by a woman, Conceição Moita, whose brother, Luís Moita, was a known activist priest. Accompanied

by five other Catholic activists, she called for a forty-eight-hour vigil and a hunger strike; the group grew to more than three hundred people, leading to heavy police repression and imprisonment of the leaders as political prisoners; they were tortured and only freed after the April 25, 1974 military coup (Araújo 2008: 62–69—"Mulheres de abril" 2017).

New Portuguese Letters and the Coloniality of Gender

It is in that context of increasingly broader and bolder protest against the colonial war and the regime that sustained it that *New Portuguese Letters* emerged to expose the complex power matrix behind them. By bringing to light the structural inequality between men and women that is at the center of that power matrix, Maria Isabel Barreno, Maria Teresa Horta and Maria Velho da Costa invite reflection on how everyone may be involved in supporting the colonial war out there in the Portuguese African colonies by the degree to which, closer to home and more intimately, they are involved in the host of varying and moving relations of inequality in society. That line of thought, despite the internal questioning between the texts themselves, reflects the broader conjuncture of mass demonstrations going on especially in the second half of the 1960s against the US-led war in Vietnam, against all forms of imperialism and remaining colonialisms, against capitalism, political and moral authoritarianism and, finally, the basis and sum of those repressive orders, against patriarchy. In fact, one of the recurrent themes is how patriarchy has remained intact, whether on the side of the oppressor, the oppressed or their would-be liberators, despite what appear to be concessions to feminist demands for equality of rights on men's terms and not recognizing the legitimacy of women's cultures, spaces, and life experiences. The following analyses two complementary themes that strongly resonate with that broader philosophical and political conjuncture, where the conflict between feminists and anti-imperialist activists dramatized the persistence in Western culture of "woman as a colony of man," one whose culture is not recognized as legitimate. That discussion sets the poetic-theoretical terms shedding light on the more anthropological aspects of the text that will be subsequently perused. The latter refer to the physical and mental suffering caused by the colonial war on soldiers and, albeit differently, on the women who awaited them in the metropolis, and to the unprecedented wave of emigration from Portugal during the war years.

Recalling the patriotic activity of letter writing between young women in the metropolis and soldiers in war zones (promoted by the program "Madrinhas de guerra" or (female) "War Sponsors" that was created by

the National Feminine Movement), it can be argued that *New Portuguese Letters* subversively mimics that culture of letter writing in order to shed light on the bundle of colonial violences marshaled by normative behaviors associated with men and women. Considering the history of Portuguese emigration, which reached new heights in the 1960s, letter writing was not exactly a new form of relationship between women who stayed and men who went to work and enjoyed better lives elsewhere.[7] Writing and reading in those circumstances, became a palliative for the violent, traumatizing experience of war or of isolation and social marginalization, in the case of immigrants. And then, of course, there is the literary tradition of feminine epistolography reduced to love letters and, specifically, the seventeenth-century *Lettres Portugaises*, to which *New Portuguese Letters* ostensibly refers. We will come back to this intertext shortly. Closer to the cultural and political context in which the book is written, three women writing to each other overwhelmingly about the feminine prison called "love" cannot but challenge the gendered cultural common sense of letter writing by women who were culturally, even politically, compelled to fulfill a nurturing, maternal role vis-à-vis their male addressees.

It is thus not surprisingly that *New Portuguese Letters* represents writing, before anything else, as a gesture of vengeance from women who were supposedly acquiring social rights—we would remember here, for example, the co-ed meetings or *convívios* that began in Portuguese universities only the decade before—but were still subjugated to patriarchy by virtue of relationships and behaviors associated with the ongoing cultural privilege enjoyed by males. One of the initial letters, First Letter II, sets up the writing contract as an analysis of women's complicity with male power through their dependency on men for sexual pleasure: "And we have also won the right to choose vengeance, since vengeance is part of love and love is a right long since granted us in practice: practicing love with our thighs, our long legs that expertly fulfil the exercise expected of them. (Barreno et al. 1994: 29). The cold analysis involved in and constituted by their unique writing-à-trois can usher on the act of "vengeance" that would be women loving each other rather than, as Simone de Beauvoir had expressed it, being each other's enemies due to the competition for the love of men. That would involve a sexual terrorism of sorts between the female writing "I" and her addressee: "You, the man and master who mounts me and rides me or attempts to, and I who seem to you to enter into this game with you, to consent to it, though in fact I am refusing to ..." (30). Women who want to resist do so, then, not unlike the "serf" or the colonized, from within the dangerous ploys of their relationships with masters. Hence, the metaphor of woman as colony of man, the latter being—as de Beauvoir had already argued—woman's

main reason for being: "me, your domain, your colony, your shade-tree programmed to appease your senses. You want me to be cloistered within you as well: you yourself my convent, my sole ambition, and in the end my one and only wasteland" (31). If the authors' words speak loudly to the cultural and political order imposing normative courtship and marriage on the Portuguese state of 1971, they resonate with a transnational current of feminist thought defining the structural condition of the man–woman relationship, at least in bourgeois Western terms.

The notion of woman as man's colony apparently follows a Marxist critique of capitalism that, in the context of the competition for empire among major European imperialist countries in World War I, saw a guiding light in Vladimir Lenin's dictum that imperialism was the "highest stage of capitalism" (Lenin 1996) When the authors proffer, "The woman: the man's wealth, his image and likeness, his plot of earth, his inherited estate" (83), they are apparently following Friedrich Engels's original provocation to think of the preservation and inheritance of property as the main reasons why monogamy and male supremacy were established (1909: 45). Interestingly, though, they echo the arguments put forth in an important document of feminist thought that surfaced more or less at the time they began their writing project. Titled "Fourth World Manifesto," that document was written by Barbara Burris with a group of Detroit feminists, and first delivered as a talk in Toronto in the spring of 1971. It was then included in the radical feminist periodical *Notes from the Third Year: Women's Liberation Movement*. It is in this document that one can find arguably the first public discussion of what is today, thanks to the internet-driven visibility of postcolonial and "decolonial" thinkers such as Maria Lugones, identified as the coloniality of gender discussed earlier in this chapter.

Barbara Burris's Fourth World Manifesto argues against the co-option of women's liberation by men and women involved in anti-imperialist struggles. It does so on the grounds that the struggle for women's liberation is inherently anti-imperialist because women constitute a colonized group, or Fourth World. (This characterization is important in a world that was then divided between First and Third Worlds, with the Second being the socialist world.) The manifesto claims the universality of women's experience as colonized subjects of the imperialistic male order, this including first and foremost imperialism toward women in anti-imperialist movements. The section on "The Betrayal of Female Culture in the Anti-Imperialist Revolution" denounces Fanon's idea of national culture—be it African or European—as male culture, and quotes several Algerian female thinkers who criticize the imperialism toward women as typical of "anti-imperialist" movements. Among others, a statement proffered by Ben Bella in 1964, two

years after Algeria became independent, questions Fanon's teachings that female oppression is a product of colonialism, pointing to both religious and secular reasons for the latter and urging independent Algerians that it is time for the liberation of women (Burris 1971: 116). Against national cultures dominated by and perpetuated by the reproduction of "the dominant male culture" that "is never attacked" (117), the Detroit feminists assert a "female culture of emotion, intuition, love, personal relationships, etc. as the most essential human characteristics" and, therefore, counter to the human deprivation of male culture (118).

New Portuguese Letters both celebrates and critically questions that "female culture" in the multiply colonized, emblematic figure of the legendary seventh-century Portuguese nun Mariana Alcoforado, as a writer of love letters to an estranged lover-soldier. The supposed author of *Lettres Portugaises*, published in France in 1669, would have written a series of five passionate letters addressed to a Chevalier of Chamilly, who was stationed in Portugal to help fight against Spain's incursions into the territory between 1663 and 1668, after independence had been won in 1640.[8] The authors appropriate and strategically reinvent the fiction of Mariana, representing simultaneously woman's and Portugal's weakness and marginality in the context of late empire (Klobucka 2000). But, most importantly, through the mythologized figure of Mariana the so-called Three Marias perform a genealogical critical operation on the myths of gender that imprison them in the present. Hence, they "accuse her, refusing to rehabilitate her, to forgive her for her weakness, her cowardliness, making a stone of her in order to cast it at others and at [themselves]" (Barreno et al. 1994: 74–75). Such a judgment ensues from the argument that the moment they are living at the beginning of the 1970s should enable women to do something about what oppresses them. In that manner, readers may be led to ask in what ways they are also complicit in that oppression by abiding by the culturally sanctioned, supposedly natural and transhistorical roles imputed on women.

The Third Letter IV proposes that such a questioning proceed intersectionally: "our spiral of intertwined words grew broader" (Barreno et al. 1994: 87). Hence, one of the writers presses for the need to identify "all the systems of cultural crystallization that have come to sustain, to reinforce, to justify, and to extend this domination of women (and the domination of others as well)." Rejecting the Marxist interpretation of women's oppression, she goes on to assert that

> a change in today's economic and political system, which is founded on this domination [of women as well as others], would not necessarily bring about the destruction of all the cultural crystallizations whereby

> the woman is made to be an imbecile in the eyes of the law, a socially irresponsible creature, a castrated man ... the good fairy of the household, a stupid human being who is ashamed of her sexual desires, a whore and at the same time an angel, etc. etc. (88)

The argument ends by insisting on the deep and broad consequences of the coloniality of gender passed on and perpetuated by interconnected social categories—what could be conceived as a power matrix– that oppress "all of us alike, men as well as women" (90). From the dialogism that ensues one can surmise that such a theory is not satisfactory because, ultimately, it affirms that men and women are equal victims of gender oppression. One of the voices in the text—which is not necessarily that of the same writer—presses thus for an origin and/or explanation of the functioning of such "cultural crystallizations" and, consequently, for the enunciation of a way out of what appears to be a universal determinism.

In an often-cited passage in *New Portuguese Letters*, one of the Marias tosses out a provocation that, in addition to the threat of women meeting around a feminist agenda probably contributing to the book's banning in the fascist-colonialist state, "I am well aware that the revolt on the part of woman is what leads to disruption in every social class; nothing can ever be the same afterwards, neither class relations, nor relations between groups, nor relations between individuals" (Barreno et al. 1994: 211). That revolt would theoretically interrupt the various relations of domination that—according to the author—are found upon the control of woman by man, "at the very core of the history of the human species, creating the model and giving rise to the myths underlying other repressions" (211). The reason the woman does not revolt does not concern a power play with men; it has to do with her fear of losing an "identity" that makes her intelligible and authorized socially. As Simone de Beauvoir has argued, that identity is first and foremost dependent upon the myth of woman as mother (84–85). It is through the "pleasures" and "gratifications" afforded by abiding by the authorized identity script of femininity that women—and men—become accomplices in their own repression. In addition, the text calls attention to the lack of space and opportunity for reinventing gender identities. "Everything is permeated with time-hallowed meanings, including our own selves, [...] even in the case of us women who are attempting to bringing about a revolution" (212). The chapter proceeds with paraphrases and actual quotes from newspapers and other media, pointing to how the latest fashion, films, television programs and the advertising industry surround women with gender constructions that, even while appearing to liberate them—for example, the revolutionary promise of the washing

machine—continue to oppress and objectify them sexually.[9] The chapter's title indicates that the fictional writer, an Ana Maria "direct descendant" of so many other "Anas" and "Marias" and combinations thereof, was born in 1940, hence making her thirty-one years old in 1971, just a few years younger than the actual writers but already of the generation living the colonial war.

Segunda Carta VIII comes back to the analytical potential of the formula of woman as man's colony but not without calling attention to the ridicule to which it is put by supposedly progressive men, who claim to understand women's alienation in male-dominant culture (Barreno et al. 1994: 235). Evoking Reynaldo Arenas (1943–1990), the Cuban poet who was imprisoned and ostracized for coming out as gay in the 1960s and for whom literature offered refuge, the writers bring up the question of "what can literature do? Or rather what can words do?" in the face of what amounts the dictatorships of gender and of sexuality. Living the farce "of the era of women's liberation" in Portugal (234), their words to each other function as a reminder that they "are still the property of men, the spoils today of warriors who pretend to be our comrades in the struggle, but who merely seek to mount us and be cavaliers of Marianas who are prisoners in other prisons and nuns in different convents, without realizing it [...]" (234). But their writerly effort at bringing to words what often went (and goes) unsaid does not lose sight of their here and now in 1971.[10] At the time "warriors" were not merely metaphorical but an embodied, concrete reality compelled by ongoing Portuguese colonialism in Africa, enforced by a war that did not seem to relent. Hence, *New Portuguese Letters* become simultaneously a poetic-theoretical reflection on the coloniality of gender and the representation of its exercise and reproducibility. In that purview, the text pays witness to post-war trauma, for both men and women—the physical, psychological and emotional damage from the war that the Salazar/Caetano regime did not allow to be spoken, much less registered in writing.

Testifying to the Trauma of the Colonial War

A number of the "letters" may be read as historically grounded testimonies of the physical and emotional violence perpetrated by a culture of war that begins in the intimate, everyday relations between men and women compulsively abiding by the dominant norms of identity and relationships. While some texts testify to the myriad of traumatic war accidents and experiences that would later surface as disabilities of one kind or another in those who served or who lived with a former soldier, others point out the phenomena of desertion and emigration as ways to escape the war and,

in some cases, the utter poverty that assailed the majority of Portuguese during the war years. What is important to note is that all such testimonies were written from situated positions of knowledge both as regards the writing subject's social and geocultural location and his or her gendered and embodied intimate experiences. This ethnographic—if you will—dimension of *New Portuguese Letters* is no less believable for having been imagined and published as creative writing: in it we read what the regime never allowed to be known and in fact tried to hide.

In the 2011 documentary *Quem vai à guerra* (*Who Goes to War*), Marta Pessoa highlights the personal stories of those women who remained in Portugal waiting for the return of their husbands (and brothers) from one of the African war fronts. Pessoa's camera returns insistently to an almost institutional white iron bed, a cross between a prison, a hospital and a poor person's bed, in an almost empty, darkened room. Some of her subjects are filmed sitting on the side of the bed, with close-ups of their faces remembering out loud for the camera that occasionally focuses on black and white pictures of the woman and her boyfriend or husband back in the time before he left, or pictures of the soldier already in Africa. Feelings and actions are recalled, the strict sexual morality of the period is more than once mentioned, but not one word is spoken about the experience of sexuality. The evocation of that experience is reduced to a nervous laugh in the testimony of a woman formerly imprisoned and tortured in Susana de Sousa Dias's documentary *48*, released in 2003. The tragedy of women's sexualities during the period in question is evoked in *New Portuguese Letters*, dramatizing how much they were demonized and/or pathologized against the backdrop of a colonial war that was denied.

A rather shocking example is offered in the chapter titled "Medical-Psychiatric Report on the Mental State of Mariana A." The report begins by a brief narrative explaining the reason for the patient's admittance to the hospital. A young married woman, Mariana A., whose husband is serving in Africa, had been brought to the hospital by her in-laws who had found her "locked in copulation with a dog" (Barreno et al. 1994: 158). The report goes on to transcribe a monologue where the patient addresses her husband, blaming both her mother and him for being confined to a mental institution. She blames her mother for the sexual repression that nearly prevented her from enjoying sex with her husband before he left on the grounds that it was a sin; and she blames him for being her "prison." That is so on two accounts. First, her sexual awakening, leading to painful longing after he left and apparently, as per the pictures he sent, enjoying the war as if it were a "pastime" or "a hunting party."[11] And, second, she blames him for being confined to his parents' home, under watch constantly by his mother and

having her correspondence with him read by his father. The report concludes that the patient is neither insane nor has any sexual disturbance, attributing to "a serious nervous imbalance" the incident that had brought her to the hospital (160).

Although not openly stated, it can be inferred that Mariana A.'s "nervous" condition was connected to the colonial war and to the extreme colonialism of gender that sustained it through the sexual morality that was imposed violently on women at home. That is perhaps why Marta Pessoa chose to stage her recuperation of women's stories with a bed at the center of the memory scene. The violence that women sustained, both directly and indirectly, and found themselves coerced to support mimics that of the young men forced to fight against African independence fighters. What only belatedly came to be identified as the crime of domestic violence is presented in *New Portuguese Letters* as a consequence of the trauma that soldiers experienced in the war.

Titled "Monologue of a Woman Named Maria, with Her Employer," another chapter presents the words of a domestic servant explaining her seizures to her (female) boss. The latter remains mute, or her response may be the reconstruction of the servant's "Monologue" and its publication at a time when people were barred from speaking about the war. Maria openly connects her irregular behavior to the extreme violence that she suffers at the hands of her husband who came back from the war "a changed man": "[H]e shouts day and night, he beats me till his arms get tired and I'm lying there stretched out on the floor. That was when I began having these attacks [...]" (Barreno et al. 1994: 174). Here we have perhaps one of the first public records of what was the most silenced or unrecognized legacies of the colonial war—the trauma of the former soldier and of those close to him, normally the wife and children at home.

Two letters supposedly written by soldiers on the war front illuminate particularly well the potential traumatic consequences of their exposure to the extreme violence of war while, at the same time, connecting that experience to the gender norms imposed by patriarchal, fascist culture and mediated—or resisted—by women as mother-figures. The first, "Letter from a Man Named José Maria to António, His Childhood Friend," is a mobilizing missive of sorts, laying out the horrors that await the soon-to-be-soldier in Africa. That affords the writer a pretext for soliciting his friend's help in reclaiming his sister as his future wife once he returns to the metropolis. In sharing his and other soldiers' constant fear of getting hurt, of losing one's mind, normal body functions, limbs or testicles due to the explosion of a mine, the supposed writer, José Maria, draws attention to the utter vulnerability of the supposedly courageous, intrepid warriors due especially to the danger of land mines. "And Francisco, [...] do you remember him? His

face wasn't even recognizable when we found him. And to think that he was about to leave for home [...] (189). He also confesses that in order to escape the physical and emotional hardships of military service temporarily—he, like others, mentions that for "many years"—soldiers "have a little fun" with African women (189). He admits to the racist thoughts and reactions that accompany such sexual forays, supposedly prompted by "crazy" sexual desire, adding that he feels disturbed afterwards thinking about what he has done (189–90). Not unrelated to such self-loathing on account of sex with indigenous women, José Maria asks António to bring his sister back to the patriarchal moral order and marry him after his return, following the plan honored by her mother since they were children. He refuses to accept that she had changed her mind and instead pursued an education, supported by a well-to-do woman, not coincidentally named Mariana (190). José Maria's former girlfriend rejects being dominated by him, but she apparently has not escaped the colonization of capital represented by her benefactor. Importantly, there is no mention that she had ever fulfilled the role expected of young women vis-à-vis the soldiers, namely, to write to them offering distraction and solace.

The "Madrinhas de guerra" program, discussed earlier in connection with the initiatives of the National Feminine Movement, makes its appearance in a letter that dramatizes the foreclosed and yet unavoidable status of disability as a testimony of war (Bruno Sena Martins 2013). "Letter from a Soldier Named António to a Girl Named Maria, Employed as a Housemaid in Lisbon" is a request for correspondence with an unknown young woman whose address had been passed on to the writer by a soldier of his company after the latter was confined to a hospital bed, having lost a leg and suffered severe wounds. Much of the letter in fact centers on describing the misery of that soldier, who emblematizes the predicament of tens of thousands of permanently disabled war veterans (Bruno Sena Martins 2013: 5). Without a leg, he will have no way of earning a living as a farmer after returning home from military duty. In addition, he has no hope of joining his father, an immigrant in Canada, after receiving from him the assurance that there is "no way for cripples to earn a life there" (Barreno et al. 1994: 232–33). Reflecting on the tragic fate of his companion and trying to appease the feelings of loneliness, the soldier asks "Miss Maria" to write him once in a while to help him "forget" how horrible his life is. "It's so sad and dreary," he writes, "that it scares me and I'm not ashamed to admit it" (232). It is on account of that fear, a feeling that is supposedly not felt by men and much less warriors, that he goes on to specify that "everybody that gets sent down here gets scared and we never get over it. It's a fear that never stops gnawing away at us somewhere inside." And countering the regime's official

discourse concerning the courageous defense of the Portuguese “fatherland” in Africa, he adds, “It’s not very hard for anybody to be brave when they are far away and don’t hear the bullets whizzin past, trying to snuff a man’s life out” (233). If one remembers that the goal of maintaining correspondence with a young woman in the metropolis is for the soldier not to think about his immediate reality as a ploy of war, this particular letter completely subverts what it is meant to begin accomplishing—to think about things other than the war in which he is serving.

The Three Marias may be suggesting that in spite of the highly controlled communications between soldiers and those in the metropolis is it likely that many unknown young women became the recipients of personal stories of war that the Salazar/Caetano regime wanted to hide. A 1969 song, “Menina dos olhos tristes,” by the historic political protest singer and songwriter Zeca Afonso (1929–1987), banned as soon as it was released, leaves no doubt as to why a young woman may be crying: “o soldadinho não volta do outro lado do mar” (“the little soldier won’t come back from across the sea”). The painful sarcasm implied by the diminuitive brings home the stark truth—from mines exploding and other warfare that claimed lives and left others with only half-lives to the “constant fear” felt throughout the course of a two-year mission that felt in the best of circumstances like “many years.”

One of the letters from “an Accountant in Africa to His Wife, Named Mariana, Residing in Lisbon” invites reflection on the issue of settlement during the war years as well as on the role imputed to women as heads of households throughout those long periods of time when men were absent. The reader does not know whether the writer was previously a soldier or what led him to live and work in an undisclosed African colony without his wife, who was apparently pregnant when he left. There is nothing in the letter to suggest that the accountant has another family in Africa, but the moral rectitude that he expects from his wife is so repeatedly asserted that the reader is left to wonder what is he reacting against or trying to hide. Be that as it may, after expressing disappointment that his wife has given birth to a girl and not a boy, he directs her to raise their daughter according to the prescription of fascist womanhood that she, herself, embodies. He expects his daughter to grow up to be gentle and quiet and pretty but, above all, to be a “virtuous woman,” keeping her virginity intact for a future husband whom she must care for, respect, understand and forgive for “all his faults” (270). “Because a woman is first and foremost a mother, and always will be”—he proffers, going on to assert that their daughter should not aspire to learn anything other than what is needed for her to be “the guardian angel of her home who shares in her own heart and body the torments and grief that may afflict her loved ones” (271). That last phrase referring to “torments

and grief" contradicts the official discourse prescribing that the wife-mother keep "joy at home" (e.g. Castro 1939). In 1971, ten years into a colonial war that was devastating people physically, mentally and emotionally and decimating the country's financial resources, gone is the happy, humble, rural patriarchal family epitomized in the 1938 propaganda poster "Deus, pátria, família: A trilogia da educação nacional." The letter writer does not even mention family life together, be it in Africa or elsewhere.

One of the greatest gestures of defiance against the power of the regime to enforce compulsory service in the armed forces for all young men was desertion coupled with clandestine emigration, normally to France. Not that all who emigrated illegally during the 1960s were trying to avoid military service, but the fact that in April 1961 Salazar's political police—better known for the acronym PIDE—qualified illegal immigration as a crime was obviously a form of threat to the beginning of open contestation of the regime by those thought to be part of it—members of government, the military and Catholic leadership (Vítor Pereira 2008: 17). Yet as the war unfolded the regime mostly turned a blind eye to illegal immigration (26–29) because immigrants' remittances helped pay for the huge expenses associated with the war (Luciano Amaral: 2008). Ironically, then, a deserter could be unknowingly paying for the war whenever he sent his family back in Portugal money from his earnings as an immigrant in France or elsewhere. One can surmise just how beneficial emigration was to the regime during the thirteen-year colonial war if one considers that in addition to legal emigration—which was controlled but nonetheless allowed—the bulk of illegal immigration must have included an estimated 240,000 deserters. Their highest number occurred in the 1971–1974 period (Cardina and Martins 2016—during the "guerra colonial"). The experience of having a loved one desert marked to such an extent those who remained, single women in particular, that it became the topic of several *fado* songs. These songs are available in the virtual exhibition, *Guerra, deserção e exílio* (2016—*War, Desertion and Exile*) hosted by the Centro de Documentação 25 de Abril at the University of Coimbra ("Sons").

New Portuguese Letters offers a bitter and politically provocative reflection of that conjuncture in the chapter titled "Letter from a University Student in Lisbon Named Mariana to Her Fiancé (?) António, Who Has Taken Off to Parts Unknown." Not knowing the whereabouts of her boyfriend who deserted three months earlier, the writer calls into question the whole 1960s student culture of resistance, centered on bookish learning and encouraged by underground meetings of "the right crowd" who read the "right" poetry and listened to banned songs of protest.[12] She suggests that students who engaged in political activism—including in the so-called

private sphere, thanks to the financial and structural support of their supposedly progressive parents—find themselves frustrated and utterly alone, abandoned by those who have the luxury to call quits with the anti-regime/anti-colonial struggle and run away. Among a host of specific historical references, the letter mentions as the possible cause for the boyfriend's desertion one of the many incidents throughout the 1960s when the political police stormed in and attacked students engaged in strikes. Most importantly, it calls attention to the politics of class in the phenomenon of desertion. In 1965, Amália Rodrigues (1920–1999) released a *fado* in which the singer pleads the divine power of an equivocally named "Senhora do livramento" ("[Our] Lady of Deliverance"), to exempt her boyfriend from going to war. Everyone more or less knew that young men from families of means and connections with the regime were likely to "be delivered," as happened with the writer's boyfriend. Hence, her angry denouncement: "In the middle of this zoo, this soap opera, we can only know who we really are by lighting out to somewhere—you for foreign parts and me deep down inside my loneliness for you" (202). Identifying with the plaint typical of female songs of the Middle Ages, in which the young girl is abandoned by a boyfriend fighting on behalf of some king, she asks rhetorically why "we"—the couple, the people—have been thrown into the power plays of empire. The end of the passage may not be as poetic in the English translation, but it is certainly clear: "what harm did we ever do to be forced to suffer all this dissention and all these separations on account of the African question?" (203). The letter ends invoking Serge Gainsbourg's blatantly erotic "Je t'aime moi non plus," sung with Jane Birkin in a 1969 release that circulated underground, not unlike songs of protest or books banned by the fascist-colonialist state. After all, love and revolution were not thought to be far apart in 1960s counterculture liberation, even if the coloniality of gender got in the way of both.

Post-colonial Reflections on the Instrumentalization of "Love"

In an essay based on interviews of twenty-seven women and sixteen men who experienced separation due to the colonial war, journalist Helena Neves (1945–) captures important gender-specific outcomes. For the majority of women whose husbands or boyfriends were serving in Africa, there were decisive changes ensuing from greater freedom of movement, working outside the home, enlarging their social networks and administering the household finances; a few also mention the opportunity to explore other love relationships (2004: 52–54). Former soldiers report suffering from loneliness and sexual deprivation. After spending long periods of

time under stress in war zones, they would reportedly plunge into sexual activity with prostitutes in and around the barracks. Venereal disease was apparently rampant due not only to ignorance but also lack of resources from the government. Equivocally, as is often the case with fascist culture, the women of the National Feminine Movement apparently contributed to the age-old belief—indeed emblematized in *The Lusiads*—that the promise of a sexual reward makes for intrepid warriors. Aside from cigarettes, books and newspapers, the fascist women's group sent soldiers their own magazines featuring sentimental, patriotic but also seductive pictures of young women; the most risqué were calendar pictures of foreign misses wearing bikinis (56–57). Military officials complaining about missing their wives (or fiancées) did not, however, need to settle for such voyeuristic pleasures. In August 1969, the government instituted a program that incentivized their wives to join them in Africa, with the condition that the family stay together for a minimum of twelve months (Neves 2004: 55n10; Ribeiro 2007: 26). And hence began the state-sponsored practice of having the commanding men in the army enjoy supposedly normal lives with their wives whenever they were not preparing for war, or away at the war front.

Had the university student referred to above in his girlfriend's plaintive "letter" not escaped the draft but served, with the hope of mobilizing dissent against the regime and eventually overthrow it as happened on April 25, 1974, she could theoretically have joined him in one of the three colonies fighting for independence. That is, if they married by proxy or in situ, since concubinage was proscribed. Aside from adding to the economic development of those countries at war and, by that token, reaffirming to those in the colonial metropole that there was no war, military marriages were likely to improve the officers' quality of life. Although Neves's informants do not specify it, military marriages were likely to enable sexual reproduction among a socially privileged white class where the incidence of rape, whether or not leading to make-shift relationships between soldiers and local African women, could threaten Portuguese sovereignty.[13]

That background informs two semi-autobiographical memorialist accounts written by women about ten years younger than the authors of *New Portuguese Letters*, who attended the University of Lisbon in the late 1960s and who joined their husbands, both military officials, during the last years of the war. The first, *Percursos (Do Luachimo ao Luena)* (*Routes [From Luachimo to Luena]*), was published by Wanda Ramos (1948–1998) in 1981. Although recognized with a prize for originality—"Prémio de Originais"—by the Portuguese Association of Writers ("Wanda"), it was little more than ignored. It may be mentioned in studies concerned with women's literary testimonies of the colonial war (e.g. Vecchi 2004), but it has rarely been

studied.[14] The second, *A costa dos murmúrios* (*The Murmuring Coast*, 1995), published in 1988 by Lídia Jorge (1946–), was an instant success. Her three previous novels had been awarded important national literary prizes and showered with critical praise, especially the first, the groundbreaking *O dia dos prodígios* (1980—*The Day of Prodigies*), which was generally considered the emblematic novel of the April 25, 1974 Revolution. The Academy of Sciences of Lisbon awarded it the prestigious Ricardo Malheiro Dias prize the same year, 1981, in which Wanda Ramos's *Percursos* appeared. At the time the literary representation of the painful and controversial memory of the colonial war was connected with the novel *Os Cus de Judas* (1979) by António Lobo Antunes (1942–). The fact that only four years later it appeared in English translation as *South of Nowhere*, published by Random House, bespeaks the media and critical attention it promptly captured. In that context, it is perhaps not surprising that no one paid attention to Wanda Ramos's *Percursos* (1981), arguably the first female-voiced rejoinder to Lobo's shocking narrative addressed precisely to a mute female narratee. As gender politics go, no one expected that the latter could have been there too, in or around that place "south of nowhere" and claim her right to publicly inscribe her own memory of the war. Not until 1988, when Lídia Jorge published *A costa dos murmúrios*, another ostensibly female-voiced riposte to Lobo Antunes' or, less personally, to memories of the experience of war by former military men. The novel, translated into English as *The Murmuring Coast* (1995), became the go-to site for the (literary) memory of the war from a woman's perspective (e.g. Ferreira 1992; Ribeiro 2002), and is probably still the most widely read of the author's numerous novels and short story collections.[15]

Leaving aside the publication conjuncture and maybe even, if momentarily, the gender politics in recognized cultural production, the issue of intelligibility should be mentioned in light of the relative dismissal of Wanda Ramos's novel in contrast with the critical enthusiasm that led to the English translation and subsequent movie adaptation of *The Murmuring Coast* by Margarida Cardoso (*A costa dos murmúrios* 2004). Beginning with the title, evoking "routes" referenced parenthetically by two toponyms—Luachimo and Luena—that only those with knowledge of Angolan geography can recognize, *Percursos* can equivocally be thought to be a travel narrative. Not that the narrative voice does not travel; it does, through both time and place, as she recalls important periods of her life and in doing so offers a "testimony of coloniality" (Moutinho 2008: 58).[16] The most salient are her initial upbringing in the 1950s as an Angolan-born daughter of colonists in the Lundo mining region of Angola, near the Luachimo River; her visit to an already war-stricken Angola, in 1964, after completing high school in Portugal; and later, in the early 1970s, as the wife of a medical

doctor placed in Cassamba, near the Luena river. Each numbered fragment is titled "Reminiscência," but together they resist being consumed as a fluid chronological narrative. As a discreet act of memory, each fragment includes reflections of the writerly, memorialist "I" as well as a myriad of intertextual citations, and fast-forwards or backtracks to other memories. Adding to the resisting, experimental, poetic style, Ramos makes frequent use of what would have been Angolan Portuguese, which includes creolized words and expressions marked by a "lexical confusion" indexing the writer's earlier identitarian ambivalence (Moutinho 2008: 57–58). To summarize: the so-called colonial war in Wanda Ramos's *Percursos* is hard to find and read; it is much more the product of a long, lived period of colonialism as a particular set of behaviors and experiences than the colonial war, the case in Mozambique that Lídia Jorge poetically captures in its final "last murmurs"—to evoke the title of Jorge's novel, *The Murmuring Coast*. What is common to both works is their unveiling of the structural racism and violence overall that sustains colonialism not only in the lands and peoples in the so-called "overseas," but in the very gendered and sexualized bodies that continue to reproduce that violence. And this is nowhere more evident than in the military marriages that both works evoke as products of the absurd normalization of settler colonialism in Angola and Mozambique as fodder to imperial power and warfare.

Both novels are narrated in evocative, fragmentary styles that rely on the temporal and psychological disjuncture between the colonial "she" and the "I" who writes from the critical, embittered or ironic, perspective of the post-colonial present. Ten years distances one from the other in Wanda Ramos's case and twenty years in Lídia Jorge's. Even though based on the authors' respective experiences of the colonial war, neither text claims an individual, much less a historical truth but, rather, a poetic one. It is connected with the presumable intimacy of sex, whereupon both young brides confront the coloniality of gender mobilized to support Portuguese colonialism down to its last—and lasting—"murmurs." For that reason, the characters of *Percursos* and *The Murmuring Coast* are not individualized: they are figures representing the dominant cultural beliefs of colonial society about manhood and womanhood that the respective acts of memory writing denaturalize and condemn.

In Ramos's novel, it is a figure simply named "father" who presides over those beliefs, with "mother" appearing to submit to and reproduce them. The narrator evokes her childhood living in in the privileged white community of the diamond mining company Diamang where her father worked. The river Luachimo, in the novel's title, is a reference to that place of her birth and childhood where she regularly witnessed racial apartheid and racist

violence. Along with that, she evokes how she was constantly reminded to look, act and speak like a "decent" European lady. That presumably meant accepting—like her mother did—that her father had extramarital relations with women in the African neighborhoods and/or was involved in clandestine activities, such as when he left the house in the middle of the night accompanied by a group of black uniformed men referred to as "private police" (1981: 14). Before turning nine and visiting the famed metropolis with her parents for the first time, she has learned to fake obedience so as to hide her passions and feelings of rebellion (30). Such is the model of femininity based on deception and duplicity (in the manner of the fascist state itself) that takes her from being a university student at the end of the 1960s to quitting her studies, marrying by proxy "S.," who emerges out of nowhere, and joining him in Angola (81).

As the nameless new wife confronts the inconveniences of living in a war zone away from the city (then known as Vila Luso, by the Luena river) where military families and settlers mix, commonly attracted by new financial opportunities and enhanced by consumerist and other pleasures, she begins to realize who her husband is. Although unspoken, "S." strangely evokes the model authoritarian father-of-the-nation figure of Salazar.[17] She describes him as sexist and domineering behind a liberal façade, with cold, piercing eyes, a low tone of voice always ready to criticize and hurt and gestures threatening bursts of violence (Ramos 1981: 48). Even while fascinated by his simulation of naturalness and normalcy, she begins to suspect that he is turning "perverse," "malign," "pathological." Her impressions are substantiated once he begins accusing her of faulty behaviors and actions, extensive to her past, for which he neither has nor seeks any proof (84). Felt as a "nightmare" first by her and then by both as they blame each other, the one-year marriage is said to have been doomed from the start due to the haste that motivated it. She suggests that she felt pressured to marry after a "precocious and inconsequential romance" due to his "selfish need, as was natural to happen to someone who felt lonely" and who, even in spite of knowing it could go wrong, wanted to share even an unhappy life in order to keep up the "simulation that things were normal" (83–84). Transformed into what the narrator describes as an artistic "product"—"possible sculptures, laboriously obtained from gouges and chisel" (96), Ramos's reminiscences denounce what still goes unsaid. In her discussion of "love in times of war," Helena Neves suggests that such military marriages as those described by Wanda Ramos and Lídia Jorge were primarily about ensuring the "*repouso do guerreiro*," or home in which the soldiers could rest after battle (2004: 48; emphasis in original). Those marriages above all served to masquerade the supposed peace of a colonial society that, while knowing, made believe it did

not know. Ramos's own paintings, featured on the front and back covers of her novel, show bodies of African-stylized female images proudly defying a culture of deception that was never far from self-deception.

The fraud that Portuguese colonialism had become at the cost of a war that the regime continued to deny, and that most civilians did not confront even when faced with its tragic effects, is brought to light in Lídia Jorge's *The Murmuring Coast*. Set in in the port city of Beira, in central Mozambique, the novel opens with a short story titled "The Locusts," which tells with profusion of parodic detail of a military wedding reception on the terrace of a hotel, the Stella Maris, overlooking the Indian Ocean. Soon after a cloud of green locusts descends over the party as if it were an omen of African nature, the news spreads that numerous black men have been found dead from having accidentally drunk methanol. Enter a local reporter to photograph from atop the hotel the dumpsters into which the bodies were being taken and, after a quick game of cat and mouse, the groom commits suicide. Thus ends the narrative, condensing what the novel will subsequently unpack as part of an extended critical commentary on the initial story told by the emblematically named Eva Lopo, who identifies herself as the bride, Evita, in the story. The latter is described as "an eye, or a look" (Jorge 1995: 83), registering what she sees. By attributing to Evita the function of eyewitness, the older Eva become a threatening "lobo" or Woolf kind of writer by her experience as a military wife in Mozambique who grounds her memory constructions in more or less historical, lived experience. In that way, through the fiction of Evita, the writer tries to avoid—"evitar" in Portuguese—forgetfulness of the colonial war. In addition, through Evita's critical "eye," the reader is presented with the effects of the foundational myth of womanhood in Western cultures in relation to war.

The peculiar scenario of colonial violence that emerges from the novel counters what was the colonialist plan to multiply the white population (i.e. military marriages) by an incident of eugenic terrorism, to prevent black men from reproducing. It is not by chance that the hotel where the military officials live with their wives and children is called "Stella Maris." It is there that "peace" is supposedly enjoyed between military operations, as suggested by the groom's assertion that they would be heading to Mueda for "the definite operation that would bring peace" (Jorge 1995: 31). The contradiction appears glaring, and yet calls attention to the war going on at the weird home front represented by the Stella Maris, where domestic violence seems naturalized—something that Evita has noticed since her wedding reception. The scars women display on their faces and arms are meant to prove the manhood of their husbands/owners/colonizers. They are exemplified by the grotesque figures of the groom, Lieutenant Luís

Alex, nicknamed by his men "Galex" due to his penchant for shooting at chickens' butts; and by the captain, Jaime Forza Leal, who proudly wears his supposedly heroic scars on his chest. As parodies of the desire to display masculinity to compensate for their emasculation before the lost cause of colonialism, they are enjoined by wives who are commanded to play their assigned role in the farce. The newly married Evita refuses, as she finds the boyfriend she had in college unrecognizable, while Helena, the captain's wife—and, according to her symbolic name, his war prize—seems to go along with her husband's penchant for showing muscle out of fear of being hit.

By drawing on the cultural semantics surrounding the cult of the Virgin Mary that dictate the myth of womanhood in Western societies, Lídia Jorge brings to light the sexism—not to mention the heteronormativity—that supported and perpetuated colonialism and that, mutatis mutandis, is reproduced in the anti-colonial struggle. That argument seems to surface from the relationship that Evita keeps with a mulatto Mozambican journalist who is likewise emblematically named Álvaro Sabino. She presses him to report on the case of the black men poisoned with methanol and he refuses to do it, pointing out that there has never been news about black men being killed and their heads put up on sticks, something that Evita's husband himself had been involved in as shown by the pictures shared by Helena (Jorge 1995: 134–35). In other words, colonial violence had been going on for hundreds of years without being reported (or acknowleged). That may be why his philosophical têtes-à-têtes with Evita, whom he calls by the sexist but supposedly tender "my dove" or "my little dove," end up where they normally do, that is, in bed: "'Listen,' he said. 'We need to sleep together'" (186).[18] The journalist's flaunting to Evita his two natural wives, one white and one black, with whom he has children, only stresses the "white knowledge" that he bears in his name. For all his putative "resistance," he does nothing different from the white (married or otherwise) colonist or temporary soldier in Africa who apparently feels entitled to sexually use women's bodies. Even if they financially assist their makeshift local families, in the end they go after the "dove" that best suits their need for self-promotion in times of what some would call "peace," not wanting to acknowledge the ongoing repercussions of the colonial violence that is done to women's bodies, particularly those of African women. For the journalist, who "hates" what he considers a naturally induced incontrollable reproducibility, "[t]here are more people born, more that die, and natural history is tragic and never recorded. And why write if there's nothing that can be done?" (217).

Conclusion

The question that *New Portuguese Letters* brought up in 1972, "What can literature do?" evoking Cuban poet Reynaldo Arenas who was imprisoned for refusing to abide by compulsory heterosexuality under the socialist dictatorship of Fidel Castro, ceases to matter only to those who ultimately give up on the power of literature as archive. While it is the case that "natural history is tragic and never recorded" by the writers of truth—as would have happened with the "torn sphincter" of a colonel's wife due to an abnormal miscarriage (191–92)—those who cultivate artistic languages take note of the intimate details of everyday life that, in the end, both make history and represent its ethos. At the time when censorship prevented even the suggestion that a colonial war was going from being made publicly, *New Portuguese Letters* succeeded in recording it, as well as the broader political and philosophical context in which it was discussed, against all odds. Later, when it became emotionally possible for public discussions of the colonial war to take place in Portugal, literary memories began to be published and documentaries began to attest to the many pains and questions that had been silenced. But it was those works that, following *New Portuguese Letters*' anti-realist aesthetic, produced knowledge while at the same time reflecting on their own epistemological violence that succeeded in connecting the imperative of remembrance with a will-to-unknow—that is, to question what seemed "natural" and ignore it during colonialism and potentially afterwards. The main literary texts chosen for study in this chapter commonly center, even if from different theoretical perspectives, on ideas and ways of performing gender and sexuality in the particular conjuncture of the colonial war, illuminating just how much normative gender was a handmaid of colonialism and ultimately war.

In *The Murmuring Coast*, the groom accuses Evita of "theoretical libertinage" due to her tendency, as a former History major, to reflect critically on what is going on and on how the military officials insist on representing it, but only in the privacy of their homes (77). Neither Evita's theoretical forays nor that of the Three Marias' goes far in considering how the coloniality of gender is connected with racism in addition to classism. And indeed one should point out that none of the writers whose texts are perused in the present chapter stops to reflect upon the violence specifically affecting black African women in the context of their otherwise forceful representations of the gendered politics that sustained not only the colonial war but colonialism *tout court*. In that respect, the perpetuation of colonial racism that their texts criticize without any apparent awareness of complicity in its reproduction, particularly via the erasure of African women's humanity,

appears magnified by a nationally and internationally recognized journalist who could be their daughter. In *Furriel não é nome de pai* (2018—*Quartermaster is Not a Father's Name*), Catarina Gomes (1975–) writes for a public who care about fathers, and may even find it honorable that a father looks for a son left somewhere in one of the colonies involved in the 1961–1974 Portuguese war, but also for a public—men and women—that more often than not has ignored the black and poverty-stricken women who stayed behind in Africa. The text analyzed in the next chapter, focusing on the broader context of the metropolitan post-colonial 1990s, may help confront and unpack the silence that continues to push those African women out of public memory—even as they have become ubiquitous as Portuguese residents and citizens. Ana Luísa Amaral (2011) captures the gist of that state of affairs—or of "theories"—for us to ponder more carefully: "Próspero morreu / sem ter morrido / que as magias que fez nos deixaram ainda / descendência" (50—"Prospero died / without having died / since the magic he made has still left us / offspring").

Notes

1 A classmate would go on to describe him as a well-read and traveled student who kept to himself (Cruzeiro 2009a).

2 See Bebiano and Silva (2004) for the most extensive treatment of critical reactions to the "Carta," in the context of which mention is made of the student debate about co-ed socialization or "convívios," quite possibly implied in the term "festa." Several other historians have mentioned the document but only as regards the feminist struggle for sexual freedom under Salazar's regime (e.g. Cruzeiro 2009b; Bebiano 2017: 15–17).

3 For the international reception of *Novas cartas portuguesas*, including its translations over the years into a number of languages, see Amaral, Ferreira and Freitas (2015). Quoted material in this chapter is from the English translation of Helen Lane, first published in 1975, which includes in its title the phrase "Three Marias," as the authors became known.

4 See Sanches 2006 for a fine collection of essays reflecting on the discourse of the Portuguese empire and its aftermath from postcolonial critical perspectives.

5 Costa uses quotes around "presence" to signal not only the fabrication of such news by government-controlled newspapers, but to suggest that such news further silenced women.

6 Natércia Freire (1919–2004) edited the Arts and Letters section of the major daily newspaper, *Diário de Notícias*, between 1952 and 1974. She was the younger sister of Maria da Graça Freire, whose novel *A terra foi-lhe negada* was discussed in the previous chapter.

7 I am here reminded of anthropologist Caroline Brettell's *Men who Migrate, Women who Wait: Population and History in a Portuguese Parish*, originally published in 1986.

8 The dynastic union between Spain and Portugal in 1580–1640 was precipitated by the issue of who would succeed the Portuguese throne after the death of the young Portuguese King Sebastian in Ksar El Kebir in 1578.

9 Intertextually very rich, this chapter is decoded in illuminating detail by Amaral (2010: 381–93).

10 With "writerly," I evoke Roland Barthes' distinction (1975) between "readerly," or easily consumable texts, and "writerly," which requires the co-creation of the reader and resists closure.

11 More forceful references to such war pictures occur in Lídia Jorge's *A costa dos murmúrios* (1988—*The Murmuring Coast*), discussed below.

12 A line of the poetry in question is quoted—Alexandre O'Neill's "This Country Is Not for Me." For detailed information about the historical references in this particular "letter," see Amaral 2010: 377–81.

13 Neves reports that her informants were uncomfortable speaking about rape as a mechanism of war while nonetheless admitting that certain local women were raped (2004: 58).

14 An important exception is Moutinho 2008: 55–73. See also Faria 2009 and Catarina Martins 2011.

15 The secondary bibliography on *A costa dos murmúrios* is quite extensive and includes several important studies published in English (e.g. Jordão 1999; Medeiros 1999; Owen 1999; Moutinho 2008: 75–96).

16 Moutinho reads the text like a female Buildungsroman, focusing on the author's memories of colonial society in her childhood and adolescence with particular attention to behaviors of gender imposed on the young child in colonial society.

17 Teolinda Gersão, in *Paisagem com mulher e mar ao fundo* (1982), has the suicidal mother of a soldier who died in the war frequently evoke "S." Inês Medeiros's award-winning documentary, *Cartas a uma ditadura* (2006—*Letters to a Dictatorship*), makes it explicit that the "S." was used by women who venerated Salazar in the 1950s.

18 The translation does not always capture the play of irony in their conversations or colloquial expressions, as when Álvaro expresses the "need" that they sleep together: "Estamos é a precisar de dormir os dois" (181—"What we need [right now] is to sleep together").

CHAPTER FIVE

Lusotropicalist Entanglements in the Post-colonial Metropole

In 1967, amidst Salazar's continued denial that war was being waged against independence fighters in Africa, Portugal's entry in the Eurovision Song Contest was interpreted by an Angolan, Eduardo do Nascimento (1944–). He was the first black male to perform in the competition—rumor has it that he was handpicked by Salazar (Lago 2018) to exhibit to a wide international public the supposed non-racism of the Portuguese pluricontinental nation. In 1989, fourteen years after decolonization and three years into Portugal's entry into the then European Economic Community (along with post-dictatorship Spain), the pop rock group Da Vinci celebrated in the annual European song contest the bygone Portuguese "Conquistador" of the former overseas empire, equivocally reduced to love conquests hence creating "oceans of love." A few years later, Portugal's entries in Eurovision showed off just to what extent "love" had borne fruit by presenting black citizens of Cape Verdean descent, Sara Tavares (1978–) in 1994 and Tó Cruz (1967–) in 1995 ("Eurovision 1995 Portugal"). Disregarding the racism that was on the rise against African immigrants and their descendants, government officials were intent on celebrating the convivial meeting of cultures enabled by the so-called Discoveries. Tó Cruz's "Baunilha e Chocolate" evoked a collective "we," combining flavors and sounds and embracing "the challenge / of inventing a new love" felt in the "soul" regardless of skin color. The message was reinforced in Eurovision 1996 by Lúcia Moniz (1976–), who proclaimed her colorless heart, "O meu coração não tem cor," while summoning the audience to join the "tricontinental feast" of music, dances, flavors and accents from the overseas empire ("Eurovision 1996 Portugal").

The comparative overview of Eurovision entries illustrates the temporal endurance of the discourse of "multiracialism" along with that of "multiculturalism," not only to assert Portuguese colonial policy—without calling it such—but to describe Portuguese identity and cultural imagination (Torgal I, 2009: 493–97). That endurance may be understood in terms of the historical and contextual adaptability of the discourse of Lusotropicalism.

It became "generic" in post-colonial Portuguese culture and no longer tied to Gilberto Freyre or the appropriation of his thinking by Salazar's fascist-colonialist regime (Miguel Almeida 2004: 63). The generalized belief that Portuguese colonialism had at its basis not the violence of racism but an intimacy garnered through cultural and racial miscegenation gained momentum in the 1990s as a result of local contexts of decolonization and historical commemoration as well as international currents of immigration and multiculturalism. Keeping both in perspective allows for a nuanced understanding of how what Elsa Peralta describes as the "national cult" of Lusotropicalism (2011b: 208) worked in tandem with colonial racism dialectically transformed into what Boaventura de Sousa Santos early on called "the racism of decolonization" (1994: 128).

The independence of Portugal's African colonies in 1975 leading upwards of half a million people, especially from Angola and Mozambique, to dislocate to Portugal as national "returnees" or first comers; membership in the European Union in 1986 coupled with new waves of immigrants throughout the late 1980s and 1990s from former Portuguese colonies and elsewhere; and commemorations of the fifth centenary of the so-called Discoveries, all encouraged nationalist outbursts. Shortly after decolonization the philosopher Eduardo Lourenço diagnosed the national malady in terms not of a loss but of an excess of identity, or "hyper identity" that had to be reckoned with (Lourenço 1992).[1] It could be argued that it was such an identitarian thrust that led to the "ethnization of the majority," to follow Etiènne Balibar's insights about the response to immigrants in France and other European countries (Santos 1994: 125). That would explain the ethnic and racial bigotry against the growing number of immigrants in a country that had been for centuries a country of emigrants (Horta 2008: 79; Dias and Dias 2012; Kumar 2012).

As if to deflect news reports and research from journalists and social scientists documenting racism against African immigrants, government officials from the mid-1990s began to evoke a Lusotropicalist narrative of racial and cultural mixing as the basis of Portuguese identity. In an interview published in the daily newspaper *O Público* in February 1996, José Leitão, then High Commissioner for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities, declared: "The Portuguese cultural model points to interculturality and the history of the country was always one of miscegenation" (qtd. Sertório 2001: 11). José Carlos Almeida notes that the High Commissioner proffered a similar statement in an interview published in the weekly newspaper *Expresso* in 1997; and that it echoed earlier assertions going back to 1995 (Almeida 2004: 94n19). More than ten years later, in the closing remarks of the congress, "Diversity and National Identity in the European Union:

Multicultural Challenges" held at the New University of Lisbon, another High Commissioner for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities, Rui Marques, proposed an "intercultural model" based on "cultural crossings and miscegenations" that would neither destroy a culture nor impose one over the other. That new model of multiculturalism would not only welcome otherness but encourage the creation of a "new 'We'" (Rui Marques 2007: 6). Using the first person plural, Marques asserted that if the Portuguese were to look again at themselves and reread their identity, they would realize that it is one of fusion (8—"identidade de fusão"): "Seremos, por isso, um país cheio de sorte, reencontrados com a nossa identidade de sempre e capazes de construir uma comunidade de destino intercultural, coesa e forte" (9—"Therefore we will be a very lucky country, reunited with the identity that has always been our own and able to construct a cohesive and strong community destined to be intercultural").

As expected, official discourse foils over the many forms of violence implicated in contact with racial and ethnic others, from early overseas expansion to the period of late empire and its aftermath. The massive presence of African immigrants in the ex-colonial metropole can only intensify a typically intolerant pattern of identity-structuring through exclusion. The most naturalized, systematic manifestation of that exclusion is effected by enunciations of the Lusotropicalist mantra illustrated by the Eurovision songs cited above. Their ubiquity in a culture that supposedly has no history of racism has persistently allowed for what is now the wide phenomenon of "racism without racists" (Bonilla-Silva 2017; Goldberg 2008) foiling and in fact sustaining the violence of systemic racism (Feagin 2006).

The present chapter examines the entanglement of post-empire Lusotropicalism and racism, calling attention to its radically gendered and sexualized underpinnings. The racist-enabling "Luso" cultural common sense will be examined in a specific historical period, between the late 1980s, after Portugal's entry in the European Union, and 2002, when the Commission for the Celebration of the Discoveries was deactivated. To that end and subsequent to an overview of media and academic trends broaching post-colonial racisms, three novels by well-established women writers will be examined: Maria Teresa Horta, *A paixão segundo Constança H* (1994); Maria Velho da Costa, *Irene ou o contrato social* (2000); and Lídia Jorge, *O vento assobiando nas gruas* (2002). Engaging with the Portuguese context of the 1990s through gendered feminist lenses, these texts shed light on the greater webs of history, power and capital in which both interracial mixing and racism are enmeshed. In addition, we will peruse how the different identity positions that characters occupy are subjected to, or evade subjection by, prejudices that work together or "intersectionally" (Crenshaw

1991). The chapter closes by calling attention to critical reflections of the cultural context of the 1990s witnessing the "forgetting machine"—the phrase is Aimé Césaire's—of imperial commemoration. The latter bespeaks what Silvia Rodríguez Maseo and Marta Araújo refer to as the eurocentrism of the post-colonial state and its "entrenched *will-to-ignorance*" (3; emphasis in original).

I. "Racists are the Others"?[2]

In the latter part of the 1980s and throughout the 1990s, massive numbers of immigrants, many from former Portuguese African colonies but also from Brazil and from former Soviet bloc countries, were contracted as laborers in a number of mega-projects in the transportation, service, construction, urban development and tourism industries. In one year alone, from 1996 to 1997, the Portuguese population grew 49.6 percent, totaling 10,133,758 people. It appears that by the end of the 1990s "Portugal was the European country where the proportion of foreign immigrants grew the fastest" (Barreto 2011: 200n23).[3]

The racism that they suffered, particularly African immigrants, was captured by journalists, social scientists, film and documentary artists and writers (Arenas 2012; Ferreira 2014). What is important to remark in those representations is that racist behaviors are in direct correlation with the public flaunting of "Luso" conviviality. Lusotropicalist discourse is not so much the opposite, but the constitutive and most public face of the old–new "racism of decolonization," as can be observed by perusing what was going on in dominant public discourse and cultural activities during that period.

The unprecedented number of immigrants in Portugal is connected with a surge of economic development made possible by membership (along with Spain) in the European Common Market, as it was then called, in 1986. The construction projects employing immigrant labor were necessary to bring Portuguese infrastructure up to par for the new business needs of the European Union. But many of those centered on Lisbon were there in preparation for its turn as European Capital of Culture in 1994 and for the World Trade Fair, better known in Portugal by the slang EXPO, which took place from May to September 1998. Its theme was "Oceans," in line with a contemporary imaginary of environmental protection. That theme was however easily confused with the "sea" of the Portuguese "heróis do mar," the "sea heroes" still sung in the national anthem, despite decolonization.[4] In 1997, the year before EXPO was due to open, Shopping Center Colombo opened in Lisbon, an emblem of the improved buying power, social mobility, and ever-growing consumerist (and credit) society of post-European integration.

At the time the biggest shopping mall in Europe by the number of shops, its architecture, interior design and style recalls fifteenth-century Portuguese maritime exploits. The remembrance of that mythical period became ever more important in the old–new post-empire "jardim à beira-mar plantado" or "Europe's garden planted by the sea," as the Salazar-Caetano regimes advertised the supposedly peace-loving character of the Portuguese people in response to criticisms from the international community of the wars in Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique.

Part of the reason for the coherence in the messages delivered by the newly built or rebuilt urban environment with mostly African human labor is that in November 1986, the same year Portugal was admitted to the European Union, a government decree from the Ministry of National Defense created the National Commission for the Commemoration of the Portuguese Discoveries. Its mission was to plan, organize and coordinate various initiatives to commemorate the 500th anniversary of the main accomplishments of Portuguese maritime expansion in the fifteenth century.[5] Hence, the so-called Discoveries and, even more, their global legacies, took center stage as the running theme of a host of artistic, educational and community outreach projects in the second half of the 1990s, coinciding partially with EXPO.

Active for sixteen years until 2002, the National Commission was responsible for a voluminous editorial production of scholarship, including critical editions and special re-editions, textbooks and books for the general public pertaining to Portuguese overseas expansion and to Portuguese culture. Notably, thirty-two of the titles are in English; fourteen in French; seven in Castilian; and three each in Italian and German ("Edições").[6] As small a detail as it may be and even considering the source of funding for the editorial initiative overall, the investment represented by publications in languages other than Portuguese—and the list of publications does cover some twenty-one single-spaced pages—is highly suggestive of the need for government leaders to construct the image of a tolerant post-colonial society growing out of cultural contacts with other races throughout its history (Ministério da Defesa Nacional 1986).

One of the most consequential high points of the flurry of commemoration activities building cultural nationalist pride is the founding of the Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries on July 17, 1996. The political leaders of seven members states—Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Portugal and São Tomé and Príncipe—signed an agreement to "deepen the mutual friendship and cooperation" between them (CPLP).[7] The historical event significantly took place at the Belém Cultural Center, built with immigrant labor for hosting the celebrations associated with

Lisbon as European Capital of Culture in 1994. Located in Praça do Império (Imperial Plaza) in Lisbon's Belém area, the new state-of-the-art building is minimalist but massive, evoking a huge fort. Perhaps it is meant to bring to mind the innumerable colonial forts built by Portugal along the east and west African coasts, in Asia and in Brazil from the late fifteen century through the eighteenth. The building, which houses spaces for performances, conventions, exhibits and a modern art museum, rounds up the series of monuments in Lisbon's Belém area commemorating Portugal's overseas expansion built in various periods according to the political needs for memorialization particular to each period. Such an assemblage of monuments constitutes what Elsa Peralta describes as a "complex of memory" (2013).

The Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries gave rise to the controversial concept and cultural politics of Lusofonia. One of its most passionate critics, Alfredo Margarido, denounces it in a book published in 2000 with the incendiary title, *A lusofonia e os lusófonos: novos mitos portugueses* ("Lusophony and Lusophones: New Portuguese Myths"). Several others, namely the philosopher Eduardo Lourenço, considers it a fantasy or "mirage" that the empire subsists after all. He especially warns against the dangerous association of Lusophony with a mythical, original "Lusiad" ethnicity or Portugueseness (1999, especially 62–63). For Miguel Vale de Almeida, Lusophony is a "compensatory" empire—that of the Portuguese language (2006: 364). For German historian Dietmar Rothermund, it is "a balancing act with regard to the relative loss of weight [of Portugal] in the E[uropean] U[nion]" (in Pinto and Jerónimo 2015: 13). Perhaps for that reason former Portuguese president Mário Soares (1924–2017) reached out to his longtime friend, then Brazilian president Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1931–), to put in book form a dialog about issues facing the two countries in the global context at the end of the millennium. *O Mundo em Português: Um diálogo* (1998) was published in Brazil in 1998.

According to Mário Soares, responsible for asking the questions that were answered by Henrique Cardoso, the book is especially about Brazil while, nonetheless, "frequently invoking its historical roots" in Portugal (1998: 15). Surprisingly or not, the former Portuguese President opens the chapter on "Lusotropicalism" with the assertion that "devíamos reentrar em África de mãos dadas com o Brasil" ("we should reenter Africa hand in hand with Brazil"), with the Brazilian president retorting, "Quantas línguas haverá no mundo faladas por 200 milhões de pessoas? São poucas" (Cardoso and Soares 1998: 269—"How many languages are there in the world spoken by 200 million people? There are few"). The idea of solidarity among speakers of Portuguese who opposed colonialism appeared in one

of Maria Archer's texts written in Brazil in 1961, as discussed in Chapter 3. But belief in a colonial language as the catalyst of a transcontinental community could only officially be promoted in the absence of empire, as its symbolic substitute. What the late Christian Geffray stated about Lusotropicalism in 1997 seems, in fact, specifically applicable to what the Portuguese language became under the post-colonial aura of Lusophony: "un authentique trésor national, prompt à devenir le vecteur d'une identité collective" (1997: 371—"an authentic national treasure ready to become the directive of a collective identity").

Reduced to its original margins in the southwestern periphery of Europe, the fantasy of the "imperialized nation" thus persisted (Jerónimo 4) in the context of a post-colonial society where citizens of color could be deemed "immigrants" and, hence, intruders in the multicontinental, multiracial "feast" that only the white Portuguese master could name, convoke and narcissistically enjoy—and enjoy all the better if flaunting it, as happened in the mid-1990s Eurovision entries, in front of the supposed "racism of the others."

A number of public offenses involving descendants of Cape Verdeans—those who had immigrated to the metropole in the 1960s to work in construction projects—captured considerable media attention at the time. Their effect was to racialize and incriminate what the majority of Portuguese called *caboverdianos* or, simply, "immigrants" (Horta 2008: 225–29). Yet only the violent killing of a young man of Cape Verdean descent by skinheads in the old Lisbon neighborhood of Bairro Alto on the morning of June 10, 1995 was explicitly reported by the media as an act of racism. The date is symbolic, since June 10 is a national holiday commemorating the death in 1580 of the poet Luís Vaz de Camões, author of the epic *Os Lusíadas* (1572—*The Lusiads*). It is noteworthy in regard to the date of the racist crime reported by the media that, during the fascist-colonialist period the national holiday was known by the synecdoche "Dia da raça" after Salazar's propagandistic notion that the Portuguese ("race") encompassed all races under its imperial purview.[8] It is not by chance that it was the journalist, Ana Barradas (1944–), born in Mozambique, the first to have the boldness to document just how violent was the racism that drove imperial expansion, as per well-known historiographical sources from the sixteenth century to the period of the so-called colonial war (1961–1974). With subsequent editions in 1995 and 1998, her book, *Ministros da noite: Livro negro da expansão portuguesa* (*Night Ministers: The Black Book of Portuguese Expansion*), has had a number of rejoinders.[9] It would be disingenuous to deny that what Portuguese written culture itself has recorded across the ages in connection with relations with Africans, in particular, has nothing

to do with the racism that resurfaces in the postocolonial period, especially against African immigrants.

That first public acknowledgment of lethal racist violence against an African young man—a conditional one for sure, because the Portuguese skinheads emulated a foreign, Nazi model—took place the same year, 1995, in which a Europe-wide campaign against racism began; 1997 was then designated as the European Year Against Racism (Souta 1997: 48—"Anné" 1996). Both the local and wider context might explain the survey conducted in October 1995 by the Lisbon daily newspaper *O Público*, regarding the self-perception of the Portuguese as to racism. Symptomatically titled "A face escondida do racismo" ("The Hidden Face of Racism"), the survey did not reveal anything unexpected: while 3 percent of respondents declared they were "racists," the majority, 80.9 percent, denied that they were (Fernandes 1995). Curiously, the opinions of immigrants and their descendants collected by the writer-journalist Teresa Castro d'Aire and published the following year in a slim volume titled *O racismo* (1996), are ambiguous. When speaking about their own perceptions, more often than not interviewees unwittingly evoke Lusotropicalist commonplaces in the codified language of multiculturalism. A radically different story surfaces in the testimonies of immigrants collected by Elsa Sertório over a period of three years and published as *O livro negro do racismo em Portugal* (2001—*The Black Book of Racism in Portugal*). The book brashly denounces the racism and corruption of which immigrants are victims, thus turning upside down the myth that the Portuguese are not racist.

If what was witnessed in the 1990s was racism as an "eternal return," as Luís Souta suggests in the proceedings of the colloquium *O que é a raça? Um debate entre a antropologia e a biologia* (1997—*What Is Race? A Debate between Anthropology and Biology*) that was published in 1997, by then the topic was already firmly attached to post-colonial immigrants. The latter are charged with the emergence of "new racisms" in Europe. This is the opinion of the contributors to two important collections of essays published in 1999: *Novos racismos. Perspectivas comparativas* (*New Racisms. Comparative Perspectives*), edited by Jorge Vala; and *Expressões dos racismos em Portugal* (*Expressions of Racisms in Portugal*), edited by Jorge Vala, Rodrigo Brito and Diniz Lopes. Aside from Lusotropicalist commonplaces, there seems to be agreement that racism in post-colonial Portugal is no different from anywhere else: "O nosso país não constitui, assim, excepção no cenário das atitudes racistas" (Vala et al. 1999: 10—"Our country, therefore, is not an exception in the general scenario of racist attitudes"). Later research conducted by Vala, Lopes and Marcus Lima suggests, however, that the persistence of "subtle racism" in Portugal, as opposed to "blatant" acts of racism, is explained

by the continuing naturalized, unquestioned belief in the identitarian construct according to which the Portuguese are not a racist people (Vala et al. 2008).

Even though the victims of racism hardly ever have a chance to represent their point of view (Cunha 2002), two important books were published in this period by African intellectuals, both from Angola, who a point of reflecting diachronically upon the phenomenon of post-colonial racism by connecting it to colonialism. Gonzalo Lambo's *Europa e África: Racismo e xenofobia* (1994) is a passionate denunciation of colonial racism and its continuation in the post-colonial context. A more pondered historical analysis of the institutions that promoted Luso-racisms is presented in *Preto no branco: a regra e a excepção* (1995—*Black on White: Rule and Exception*) by João Paulo N'Ganga, then a journalist studying sociology in Lisbon and leader of SOS Racismo in Portugal, founded in 1990 and recognized as an institution of public service in 1996. These books are ignored in the studies by social scientists to referred earlier: among the latter, the general tendency is not unlike what happens elsewhere in Europe: to leave the colonial past behind in order to concentrate on the "new racism" of the post-colonial (new) immigrant-defined present.

The literary representations of post-colonial immigrants may be seen to fill in or even correct media and social science accounts of racism that fail to connect it to histories of colonialism and imperialism more generally; to the racism of biological determinism morphed into that of socioeconomic conditions; and to the stereotypes of national, cultural and racial otherness condensed in the new denigrating epithet of "immigrant." The point is not to decry once and for all the racism of the Portuguese, which is presumably no better or worse than that of other imperialists, but to reflect upon the temporal, spatial, ideological and, perhaps most importantly, affective conditions that account not only for ongoing Lusotropicalist commonplaces but, also, for the renewed nationalism ensuing from imperial commemorations inviting colonial nostalgia and resentment. The following aims to shed light on the multiple acts of violence connected with the "racism of decolonization" in literary representations that play up the interconnection between racial, gender, sexual and class predicaments of those historically considered "others," not exclusively the formerly colonized. All three texts point to how class prejudice and sexism work together with racism to uphold a colonial order of things in the former colonial metropole undergoing a transition to neoliberal globalization. Rather than the ethics of reference, immediacy and sociopolitical intervention commanding writings that (rightly) inform and charge publicly too-long-denied racisms, the literary writings here

perused expose and deconstruct the various racisms that identity politics, under the cover of global multiculturalism, tends to bracket together and, hence, potentially support.

II. Feminist Stories of Racial Entanglement

What's in a Name? Intertextuality as Mnemonic Device

Published in 1994, Maria Teresa Horta's *A paixão segundo Constança H.* (*The Passion According to Constança H.*), ostensibly echoes the title of one of Clarice Lispector's most memorable works, *A paixão segundo G.H.* (1964—*The Passion According to G.H.* [1988]). Both are experimental, intimist novels that follow the mental derangement of two female artists: G.H. is a sculptor; Constança H., a writer. Their experiences are prompted by accidental confrontations with figures that shatter their respective imaginary cohesiveness as subjects. G.H. dismisses her (nameless) servant, who leaves an accusing drawing on the wall of the back room where she had slept and, whether intentional or not, a cockroach in the closet. It is in relation to the black insect that the protagonist goes through an existential purge or Christ-like passion leading to her reintegration as a subject rejecting what she calls the "third leg" of alienating social values, among them emotional dependence on a man or on the culturally dominant model of love. In Horta's novel, by contrast, there is no apparent social hierarchy framing the protagonist's "passion." Sexually obsessed with her husband's body, Constança falls into a maddening and ultimately criminal frenzy once she learns that he has had an affair. A black woman named Adele becomes the scapegoat for the reputed other woman as Constança incites and then watches her dog jump at her throat (Horta 1994: 255). The dog, a stray and "almost black" dog that she takes in while spending the summer with her children at a remote beach house, becomes an additional instrument of her passion. Horta would go on to assert in an interview that her way of representing women's closed-in and lonely world populated by obsessions and fantasies is different from that of the Brazilian author (2009: 42).

At first glance, that difference appears to hinge on Horta's explicit thematization of women, writing and madness, a much-cherished topic of 1970s feminist experimental writing that had already appeared in *New Portuguese Letters*. The writers that Constança reads along with her grandmother's letters all bestowing upon her a "woman's destiny" are those of Marguerite Duras, Sylvia Plath, Clarice Lispector, Emma Santos, Florbela Espanca and Zelda Fitzgerald. In addition, "amudez de Maina" or "Maina's muteness" is mentioned, referring to Maria Velho da Costa's innovative,

provocative feminist novel *Maina Mendes* (1969) (Horta 1994: 55–57). But one needs to ask what such feminist metafictional exuberance ignores in relation to the post-colonial moment in which the writer is living and surely witnessing. In relation to that witnessing, one needs to think of both the increased numbers of African immigrants working in the capital, adding to a generation of Cape Verdean workers who had arrived in the 1960s, and of public expressions of racism encouraged by public discourses evoking the so-called Discoveries and asserting national identity. So how does the racial, post-colonial inscription of slavery present in the maid's room in Clarice Lispector's *The Passion According to G.H.* reappear in different formal and political terms in Horta's novel? And how might that inscription suggest the cultural memory of the role accorded to the non-white, non-European woman in discourses of colonialism?

The name of the main character, Constança, and that of her husband, Henrique, signal texts from a time in Portuguese history and culture when national myths intertwining love and specifically marriage and adultery as accidents of empire were founded. In 1509, the court dramatist, Gil Vicente (1465–1536), names "Constança" the heroine of his farce, *Auto da Índia* (*The India Play*). Through the medieval misogynous motif of the inconstancy of women, the play exposes with humor the corruption and moral disorder affecting a mercantile society that lives by and for taking advantage of the commerce of goods brought to Lisbon from the east (Ferreira 2002b). Constança is the wife of an adventurer who has joined the expedition led by Tristão da Cunha in 1506 to the east coast of Africa and India. He leaves her closed up at home with her maid, with enough provisions for the duration of his trip. In defiance of his imposition that she keep faithful, Constança has lovers at home while her husband presumably has lovers far away, with "indias muy fermosas" ("very beautiful Indian women") as she comments provocatively upon his return. Ironically, husband and wife assert their mutual faithfulness and happily go on to see the fleet anchored at the port.

Later in the century, Luís de Camões' epic poem *Os Lusíadas* (1572) strongly reaffirms the Western cultural mandate that women keep faithful, or constant, while suggesting that men typically engage in adultery. Embedded in the ten-Canto poem is Vasco da Gama's oral narrative to the sultan of Melinde (present-day Kenya) about the history of Portugal since Roman times until after the successful finding of a sea route to India. In Canto III (strophes 118–35), the poet has Vasco da Gama tell the fourteenth-century adulterous love story uniting Prince Pedro, the son of King Afonso IV and heir to the throne, and the Galician noblewoman, Inês de Castro, lady-in-waiting of his wife Constança. Expected to silently accept her husband's infidelity, she is not even mentioned by the poet; the heroine of what became the most

famous Portuguese love story of all times is the lover, Inês, whom Pedro's father has killed. In Canto IV, an Old Man stands among the crowd bidding goodbye to the seafarers at the Restelo Beach, shunning the ambition that drives them to the east while leaving women abandoned and in danger of committing adultery (strophe 96). The poet does not mention them again: their constancy is expected and taken for granted. Not so with Vasco da Gama's men, who, in the fantastic Island of Love episode in Canto IX, are described as the recipients of Venus's prize for their courage in the form of fun, casual sex with sea nymphs (strophes 68–95).

Anna Klobucka (2002) has suggested that it is in that scene that Gilberto Freyre found inspiration for his narrative about the exceptionality of Portuguese imperialism, which would come to be synonymous with Lusotropicalism. Henrique may indeed offer a glimpse of "the Lusotropicalist father" implied in Gilberto Freyre's narrative, whose absence has structured life at the center of the empire in relation to the "gift" that he has supposedly brought to the world (Rothwell 2010: 24–25). Even without taking into account the children he potentially left wherever sea adventures took him—Catarina Gomes's book mentioned at the end of Chapter 4 recovers them for the honor and delight of present-day Lusitanian readers—the father's absence in the Portuguese homeland, to follow Philip Rothwell's argument, could not but impact the lives of women and, perhaps more decisively, the discourse that constructed such lives. Portuguese women were the "constanças" who stayed behind caring for the homeland while men went in search of better lives elsewhere. Maria Lamas captures the phenomenon in word and image, in *As mulheres do meu país* (1948); it makes for an excellent ethnography (Brettell 1987).

After the refusal in the immediate post-Revolution period to continue commemorating fascist culture with the empire at its center, the history of Portuguese overseas expansion began to be brought back to public memory thanks to the publicizing initiatives of the National Commission for the Commemoration of the Portuguese Discoveries referred to earlier. Immersed in this post-colonial sea change, Maria Teresa Horta poetically reflects, in *A paixão segundo Constança H.*, on the double moral standard that justified in Portuguese culture what Simone de Beauvoir called "the second sex." It seems hardly a coincidence that the name of Henrique, Constança's husband, recalls Prince Henry the Navigator (1394–1460). He was responsible for leading the maritime explorations along the West African coast that, beginning with the conquest of Ceuta in 1415, opened the way for the successful voyage by sea around the South African Cape and across the Indian Ocean to Calicut in India. The mythology of Portuguese manhood is traditionally associated with the seafaring heroes sung by

Camões and indirectly evoked by Henrique. The initial of his last name, "H," may be said to hark back to *Homem* ("Man"); *Herói* ("Hero"); and *História* ("History"). As an archeologist, Henrique connects all three in the search of "raízes" or roots (Horta 1994: 92) to a buried past whose silent if imperious "H" commands power and representation. Reacting to the threat of being engulfed by Constança's (sexual) "obsession" (128), Henrique's act of manly self-affirmation, or rather the account thereof (i.e. his confession of adultery), evokes the founding story of nationalist manhood in *The Lusiads*, connecting Portugal's heroes of maritime exploration with adulterous sexual encounters. None other had been Aeneas's legacy, following Virgil, from which Camões drew inspiration for his epic poem.

Adele's role as a character in the novel is strictly tied to Constança's reaction upon learning about Henrique's extramarital affair. The novel opens with a narrative sequence focusing on the protagonist's perception of a woman whose body is child-like, with chemically straightened hair, brown eyes and dark lips; and who complains of a myriad of illnesses and threatens to commit suicide (Horta 1994: 13–14). A structure of otherness is thus set up between the presumably white woman of the master race who at times narrates her own story, and the dark-skinned one who sits quietly and motionless on the floor at her feet; she seems to have no inner life, no thoughts. The omniscient narrator who ties together the autobiographical passages narrated by Constança comments on Henrique's thoughts, for example, but never on Adele's. She is taken home by Constança, who initiates lovemaking right above the room where her husband is working, reportedly to take vengeance on his infidelity and moved by no desire at all for Adele or women in general (184–85). Further, in one of the letters she addresses to Henrique, she suggests that her relationship with Adele was meant to humiliate him with a much more serious affair than his had been (238). The significance of her affair arguably holds the political message of Horta's novel for its time, specifically as regards "Luso" post-colonial history and culture.

Adele, not unlike Constança herself, whose name could be meant to redeem the adultery or inconstancies of her own mother, bears the burden intertextually recalled by her name. Her parents would reportedly have given her the name Adele, inspired by François Truffaut's film *The Story of Adele H.*, released in 1975. Her name is thus meant to recall Victor Hugo's daughter, a tragic figure suffering from unrequited love to the point of mental derangement. The constancy of Adele's love for Constança puts her, likewise, on a tragic path of self-destruction, a path modeled after women's dependency on the love of men. She is made by one such woman—the protagonist—into a scapegoat upon whom falls the historical vengeance

of lawful Portuguese wives (i.e. "Constanças"). To be clear: Adele's moral denigration seems to be contiguous with the supposed dark color of her skin, following the culturally dominant narrative about exotic women from other lands who would have seduced the Portuguese seafarers and their progeny of adventurers. Taking into account the increased presence of women from Africa and Brazil, especially in and around Lisbon—and not necessarily new immigrants nor necessarily poor and living in ghettoes—for Horta to have Constança kill Adele, a black woman, cannot but be interpreted as a racist crime. Independently of Horta, such a crime prefigures the increased visibility of crimes against "Cape Verdeans" or "immigrants" from the mid-1990s.

But what if Adele's lesbian love for Constança were taken seriously, to build on the statement by the protagonist that her affair with Adele was a greater moral infraction than her husband's had been? What if the challenge of lesbianism quickly referred to by the Three Marias in *New Portuguese Letters* as a matter of moral reputation (Barreno et al. 1994: 113) could be read as Horta's provocation to think of love in terms other than the dominant heterosexual (and heterosexist) norm that was instrumental in colonialism? In the 1990s, the figure of Adele could reclaim lesbian love and sexual attraction and not merely be a foil for the proverbially racialized other woman, including the morally censored other woman who lives within the supposedly constant one—the "white" one? Arguably taking Clarice Lispector's deconstructive figuration of the entanglement of histories of gender, race and class one step further, *A paixão segundo Constança H.* may ultimately provoke thought on the heterosexist mandate that was part and parcel of empire-making with its attendant codes of sexual morality for men and women. In the post-empire, what happens to Adele, or the Constança–Henrique–Adele triangulation, exposes the tragic and lasting consequences of the gender ideology and the sexual morality—and immorality—taken to non-Western peoples by early modern explorers and conquerors-turned-colonizers (Lugones 2008).

A Social Contract of Exclusions

The ubiquitous presence in contemporary society of the determinist structure of thought on class and race left unchanged by the April 25 Revolution and the decolonization that followed is brought to light in the novel *Irene ou o Contrato Social* (*Irene or the Social Contract*), published in 2000. The text subscribes to the dense, anti-realist, experimental aesthetic of another of the former Three Marias, Maria Velho da Costa. The author liberally cites the racisms and other related forms of bigotry that assail post-empire Portugal.

That is done not only with respect to the history of expansion, slavery and colonialism, but also to the Jewish Holocaust in the period coinciding with the first phase of Salazar's regime in the late 1930s and first half of the 1940s.

A profusion of intertextual references related to that period is woven around the central figure in the text, Irene, a retired old woman evoking the writer Irene Lisboa (1892–1958), mixed in with titles and scenes from her works. However, beyond the play of literary refractions that the text can suggest such references insistently return to banal and yet troubling figures from life in Lisbon's lower middle class. The plight of Jews trying to escape the Nazis by immigrating to South Africa is brought to the memory by way of the figure of old, Alzheimers-stricken Hannah, the mother of a diplomat with whom she lives in Lisbon as part of an unconventional, rich and privileged family of the global diaspora. Along with them live the diplomat's partner, a beautiful Cape Verdean mixed-race woman named Anastasia, nicknamed Nasi, and the latter's teenage son, Orlando. The author admittedly played with the name, referencing simultaneously Virginia Woolf's famous character, Ariosto's epic poem *Orlando Furioso* (1532) and her friend, poet and novelist Orlando da Costa (in Alexandra Lucas Coelho 2000: 2).[10] As a result of such purposeful entangled references to different histories and cultures, simplistic dichotomies—between us and them, present and past, here and there—are virtually abolished.

The celebratory discourse of the so-called Discoveries is critically deflected in the intertext of Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, being rehearsed by Irene's foster child Raquel, to all intents and purposes her Caliban. The incidents surrounding the play's rehearsals point indirectly to the preparations (and rehearsals, in their own right) that were going on in the 1990s for the 500th anniversary of Vasco da Gama's arrival in India, coinciding with the date of the World's Fair (EXPO) in 1998. Those narrative fragments, centered on Raquel's life and memories, alternate with fragments focused on Irene's difficult adaptation to retirement and old age in the "brave new world" of liberal, affluent European Union Portugal. She feels distant from the revolutionary anti-capitalist ideals embraced twenty years earlier and often dismisses them as "theories."

A third set of narrative fragments is centered on Orlando, who, despite having a comfortable life in post-empire Lisbon, is of Cape Verdean descent and is hence identified as a black immigrant, a "preto." In Portugal as elsewhere, immigrants are often referred to by the denigrating, racist stereotypes with which nationalist bigots assail them (Kumar 2012). Orlando ends up renaming himself Emílio and a series of other names while on the run from the police for a year due to the death of his graffiti partner during a dangerous stunt on the emblematic aforementioned Belém Cultural Center.

He moves from place to place in Europe working as an immigrant in whatever jobs the local "desempregado ariano com subsídio" or "unemployed Aryan receiving benefits" refuses (Costa 2000: 212). In doing so, he is the typical Portuguese hardworking and submissive immigrant worker, "portuga e preto, pau para toda a obra a interpretar-se bronco e dócil" (Costa 2000: 112—"portegoosie and black, one who accepts any job and presents himself dumb and docile"). That stereotype is likened to that of the rural worker from the southern Alentejo province, the "alentejano" (113), the butt of racialized and denigrating jokes within Portuguese society.

The organization of the text in the alternating stories of Irene, Raquel and Orlando spliced into brief fragments or scenes requires that the reader infer continuity or at least connection between them. The cinematic technique, with a change of focus between three different characters and historically specific experiences and worldviews, dramatizes the palimpsest-like nature of "acts of memory" (Mieke Bal et al. 1999) prompted by historical trauma surfacing in the present. Velho da Costa admittedly "projected" herself onto Irene Lisboa (in Alexandra Lucas Coelho 2000: 2), appropriating the equivocally intimist writer's fragmented, memorialist prose populated by provincial, humble, awkward figures of late 1930s to early 1940s Lisbon to inscribe for posterity what nationalist pride in overseas exploits being celebrated in the 1990s foreclosed—that is, the many acts of violence against those who were expropriated and colonized out there overseas, as well as in the metropole, conjured in the multiple, palimpsestic "present pasts" of urban cultural memory (Huyssen 2003). It is the palimpsestic cultural memory that is summoned as Irene evokes "Esta cidade!" (Costa 2000: 213), the title of Irene Lisboa's eponymous collection of chronicles about Lisbon, published in 1942.

Maria Velho da Costa suggests throughout the text a common (psychoanalytic) structure of relations of power—specifically, colonizing power—that is eventually challenged. These relations are not only present between the white European master and the colonized or would-be colonized native subject, resurfaced as post-colonial immigrant. They are also shown to encompass anyone who identifies as a mediator of a given language and culture and hence as master—the case of Irene—vis-à-vis anyone considered lacking in socialization and nurturing, that is, a natural being, an object of nature—in Irene's case, Raquel. Found abandoned on her doorstep at the time of the April 25, 1974 Revolution, Raquel grows to be a product of the new post-revolutionary, liberal-democratic society in which Irene's short-lived enthusiasm for revolutionary theories dissolves. Raquel finally lets go of the heroin addiction that both numbs her revolt and supports her own (and others') dependence on destructive "saviors." Ironically, as

she becomes the individualist looking out for herself and her career she emigrates to the United States, the country stereotypically identified the world over as a saving, nurturing land of freedom and opportunity for all. In contrast, Orlando, the "black" artistic graffer, rejects life in the United States because he wants nothing to do with the identity politics of minorities associated with that country (Costa 2000: 148). In the end, he saves Irene from being killed by a criminal in a Lisbon forest park and agrees to assist her in committing suicide, symbolizing the new "social contract" alluded to in the novel's title.

The novel touts the playful and quite serious metafictional motto "A arte não é nada à vida" ("Art is nothing to life"), significantly attributed to Orlando, but likely a projection of the writer-artist Maria Velho da Costa herself as she identifies with Irene Lisboa—or Costa's 1990s reading of who or what "Irene Lisboa" was. The ever-transforming hybrid Orlando—an Orlando, male and female identifying with the racist epithets of "preto" or "alentejano"—may be seen as the emblem of a new kind of dangerous and yet life-saving public art—writing as graffiti. It was and is condemned on public monuments because it inscribes for all to see, for free and for posterity, what must remain silenced. It is in graffiti's surreptitious, confrontational and necessarily fragmented inscriptions that may surface the aporias in which racism is enmeshed. Newspapers and the media, writing in the trenches of truth and justice, shy away from such ultimately troubling inscriptions.

Calling It Like It Is: Racial Apartheid

Lídia Jorge's *O vento assobiando nas gruas* (2002—*The Wind Whistling in the Cranes*), dramatizes the distance between the official condemnation of racism by Portuguese law and what actually takes place in everyday, post-colonial race relations. The post-colonial society metonymically figured in the novel appears to represent the shift from "flagrant" colonial racism to the "subtle" post-colonial one that replaced it (Vala et al. 2008: 170–200). But that transition is at a standstill: the novel sheds light, in fact, on the coexistence of what João Filipe Marques called "the two racisms of the Portuguese" (Marques 2004). Not being fully aware of the "systematic" or "institutional" nature of beliefs and behaviors inherited from the colonial past that tended to treat Africans as inferior, those who have historically perpetrated racism continue to do so in "flagrant" ways (Vala et al. 2008: 84). The greatest tabu of Lusotropicalism, exactly the opposite of its much-advertised tolerance of racial mixes, is precisely what the novel exposes by centering on the relations between a group of Cape Verdean immigrants living in makeshift quarters and the owners of the property across two generations. It is not only in South

Africa, where members of the Portuguese family once lived as immigrants, that apartheid reigns free.

Felícia Mata, a Cape Verdean immigrant and one of the central characters in Lídia Jorge's acclaimed novel *O vento assobiando nas gruas*, succinctly articulates what few dared to admit in the colony and even fewer in the metropolitan postcolony: "*Em assunto de cama e de pilim, é assim—branco com branco, preto com preto, pobre com pobre e rico com rico … Macaco? Sozinho, no galho mais alto …*" (229; emphasis in original—"*When it comes to sex and money, it is like this—white with white, black with black, poor with poor and rich with rich … Monkey? Alone, on the highest branch …*"). Felícia's intervention is thus akin to Orlando's "cut the cute" in Maria Velho da Costa's novel just analyzed.

Evoking the painful lesson learned from the betrayal suffered by her great-grandmother Jamila, who was left pregnant by a northern Frenchman shipwrecked on her island, Felícia enunciates the racist and classist ideology haunting the post-colonial metropole. She is hosting a party to celebrate the appearance of her pop singer son on Portuguese television, and among her guests is Milene Leandro, the granddaughter of the recently deceased owner of the factory where the immigrant family feels fortunate to live. Moved by the apparent need to denaturalize her exuberant show of affection for her landlady, Felícia spontaneously tells the sad story of the mixed-race origin of her family. Its lesson in racial and class segregation is met with expressions of disbelief from her other guests, her former neighbors at Bairro dos Espelhos (Mirror Neighborhood, recalling the Portuguese phrase for shanty towns, "bairros de lata" or "tin neighborhoods"). By the time Jorge's novel was published, sociologist Leonel Vieira had released his documentary *Zona J* (1998), and award-winning art filmmaker, Pedro Costa, had produced the two first installments of his trilogy focusing on the Fontainhas slum just outside Lisbon (*Ossos*, in 1997 and *In Vanda's Room*, in 2000.[11] "Politically there exists only what the public knows to exist" was the memorable assertion of Salazar at the inauguration of the National Secretariat of Propaganda in 1933 (Salazar 1961: 259). By naming what should continue to go unspoken, that is, the racial segregationist order that must be obeyed, Felícia performs a provocative interruption to the Lusotropicalist cultural common sense that has morphed into the language of democracy, diversity and multiculturalism. By locating racist-biologist thinking far away, emblematically at "the highest branch," she acknowledges that even if relegated to a distant past, unspoken, and allegedly rejected, colonial racism continues to inform the social order.

This scene is central to the novel, in that it brings up a relatively distant generation of the Matas (Felícia's grandmother, Jamila) to shed light on the present (centered on Felícia's younger son) and to foreshadow the future

(of her middle son, Antonino). Janina Mata King, Felícia's younger son, is an emblem of "immigrant" victimization, suggested by the femininity of "Janina," a woman's name, but also of immigrant criminalization, since Mata resonates with the verb "to kill" (*matar*) and is followed by the English last name King, in the position of a direct object. Janina's being offered the briefest of appearances on national television, surely as a minority token representing Cape Verdeans or, more generally, African immigrants, and his use of the space right outside the Leandro cannery, his family's residence, for the storage of drugs are simply two sides of the same coin: his active complicity in supporting the exploitation and dehumanization of which he is a victim, both on national television as a "Cape Verdean" specimen, and privately by the drug dealer who apparently supplies him. Hence the tragic irony of the party scene, emphasized by Felícia's boasting of the good luck that her family members have enjoyed in Portugal because they always knew how to obey the unspoken segregationist rule and stay in their assigned place: "Pois pessoa que não pretende mudar de escalão, nunca cria guerra, nem em sua terra nem na terra dos outros. Um descanso" (Jorge 2002: 230—"Since someone who does not aim to go up the ladder never makes trouble, not in his homeland and not in the homeland of others"). This is the challenge for a member of the Mata family, Antonino, when his furtive relationship with a rich white girl of the Leandro family becomes official.

As in classical tragedy, Felícia's sententious interruption of the party functions as a warning against breaking fixed racial and class divisions. A number of explicit references to South Africa and its culture of white supremacy are spread throughout the text in conjunction with the caricatured figure of Domitílio Silvestre, a corrupt diamond dealer married to one of Milene's aunts who had been an immigrant in South Africa. Shortly after telling the story of her unfortunate ancestor Jamila, Felícia herself criticizes Nelson Mandela for being imprisoned rather than obeying the law of apartheid. These references evidently counter the contrast, much repeated since it was first used defensively by officials of the fascist-colonialist regime, between Portuguese-speaking Africa and South Africa as regards the color bar. For example, this is how Eduardo Moreira ends his article on "Portuguese Colonial Policy," published in the *Journal of the International African Institute* in 1947:

> Though we may be unduly proud of our past, and may have other obvious faults and failings, we are averse to anything in the nature of a colour-bar, and this gives us a high standing in the regard of those peoples and statesmen who are now calling the attention of a world

> victorious in the struggle against subversive racialism to a racial bias being manifested in the First World Parliament. (191)

Crossing that unwritten and silenced color bar is the danger that awaits Felícia's middle son, Antonino, whose first tête-à-tête with the relatively well-born Milene Leandro takes place after the party late at night.

In the manner of a tragic hero, Antonino neither pays attention to his mother's warning nor considers that he could have been born of a relationship similar to the one narrated by his mother about her ancestor; after all, his name is Italian. His hubris, and indeed his innocence, are ironically suggested by the fact that he loves the thrill of driving the "cranes whistling in the wind" of the novel's title, hoping that he will get a license to do so if he remains subservient in this low-paying, no benefits job, since he is an illegal immigrant. His situation is not unique: as Elizabeth Buettner suggests, illegal African immigrants allowed employers to get the work done for much less money in salaries and state-supported health and retirement benefits (2016: 307). Antonino, however, is not aware of how dangerous it is to have a relationship with Milene due to the old racist myth of the black man raping the white girl. He tries to escape her seemingly innocent, immature sexual advances, admonishing her for taking off her clothes on the beach: "Às vezes basta isto para mandarem matar ..." ("Sometimes this is enough for them to have someone killed"); "O que percebes tu? Isto é um filme muito velho e muito gasto" (Jorge 2002, 328–29—"What do you think? This is an old and much seen film"). And, later, against Milene's wishes, he refuses to have sex before marriage on the grounds that they are not savages—"não somos selvagens," he tells her (372).

The post-colonial inversion of the colonial miscegenation trope is here flaunted. Instead of the African woman supposedly trapping the lonely white man out in the wilderness and being blamed for his "going native," here it is the white upper-class, adolescent-like woman who actively pursues the humble, hard-working Cape Verdean widower. Antonino in fact falls in love with Milene because he sees in her, and notwithstanding her color and class, a reincarnation of his beloved dead wife and the mother of his three children. This should give the reader pause, since Milene is portrayed as being psychologically immature for her age, thus suggesting the racist stereotype of the African's immaturity. The narrator insists on the normality and commonness of the couple and of their love when they announce their wedding: "Era um casal normal" (It was a normal couple); "Era um amor comum" (It was a common love) (Jorge 2002: 424–25). This is not, however, how others see a rich white girl with a Cape Verdean immigrant. In fact,

she gains the reputation of having turned into a kaffir ("cafrealizada"), as reported to Milene's aunt, Angela, by her driver (447–48). Against the driver's threat that the infamous news carrying the Leandros' name will be published in the regional and then national papers, the aunt cynically retorts: "isso diz-se mas não se escreve. Não vê que não se escreve? O senhor não vê o perigo para quem escrevesse? Não enxerga, não? Não conhece a lei portuguesa?" (450—"You can say that but not write it. Don't you see this isn't something you write? Don't you see the danger for the person writing it? You really don't see it? Don't you know Portuguese law?")

Milene's aunt goes on to perform the epitome of a racist, eugenic act of sterilization on her unsuspecting niece. As the child of an airplane attendant who refused motherhood and the "communist" Leandro who had answered the workers' demands in 1975 and given them the keys to the family's factory, Milene is considered degenerate, her supposed mental retardation being a result of the irrational passion that led to her conception. As a result, Milene is, to members of her father's family, already a denigrated "other," even before taking on a poor Cape Verdean lover and supposedly becoming like a kaffir. The perfectly choreographed wedding that her aunt prepares for Milene and Antonino is a Lusotropical-multiculturalist model of "interculturality" (to evoke the discourse of the High Commissioner for Immigration and Minorities cited earlier). The wedding with people from different races and classes perfectly integrated is obviously for the sake of appearances, specifically as regards the powerful gaze of the Dutch businessman, who buys the old Leandro factory in order to build a tourist resort. The wedding show is at least in part a continuation of Afonso Leandro's marketing pitch for the property, boasting about the ever-so-humanitarian actions of his family vis-à-vis the workers.

It is another gesture of paternalist, manipulative benevolence on the part of a member of the Leandro family that prevents Antonino, the driver of the "cranes whistling in the wind," from seeking justice for the eugenic crime of sterilization committed on the body of Milene to prevent her from conceiving a child by him, an African immigrant. When he is informed that his family needs to be evicted from the cannery, soon to be transformed into a resort, a post-national emblem of globalization, the driver of the "cranes whistling in the wind" backs off from demanding justice against the racist crime in exchange for subsidized government housing for his extended family without having them wait their turn (Jorge 2002: 523).[12] Relations of subservience and dependency, pleasure along with production, development and parallel consumption are not only unaltered but continually enhanced by the colonial-capitalist, libidinal machinery enabled by and continually producing racial and social inequalities, divisions and unspoken injustices.

The connection between class and racial prejudice not only stands but revisits the biological and hereditary determinism that was typical of late nineteenth-century "scientific" thinking, leading to the Holocaust.

III. The Untold Stories of EXPO '98

In May 1998, as the World's Fair, or EXPO, was opening in Lisbon under the theme "The Oceans, a Heritage for the Future," SOS Racismo, led by Angolan journalist João Paulo N'Ganga, organized a controversial interdisciplinary international colloquium titled *Em tempos de Expo há outras histórias para contar* (Abril em Maio and SOS Racismo 1998—"In Times of Expo There Are Other Stories to Tell"). The completion date of Lídia Jorge's manuscript, in July 1998, and of Maria Velho da Costa's in December 1999 (as per the authors' statements at the end of their respective novels) suggests that they joined the voices of those academics, journalists, artists and intellectuals who participated in the colloquium. The latter somehow echoed the 1870 Casino Conferences organized by the Coimbra University students who wanted to shake up the apathy or conformism of their contemporaries, as referenced in Chapter 1. In fact, recalling Ramalho Ortigão's (and initially Eça de Queiroz's) periodical publication *Farpas* (Spears), the anonymous author presenting the proceedings titled *Essas outras histórias que há para contar* (*Those Other Stories That There Are to Tell*) explains that the aim of the colloquium had been to "espicaçar a inércia" (10—"prod the inertia") surrounding the preparation for and actual celebration of EXPO. If certain things can be said but not written—as aunt Angela, in Jorge's *O vento assobiando nas gruas*, points out to her driver—it is telling that the volume is extremely difficult to find.[13]

The lack of circulation of the position papers presented then is partially compensated by the visibility enjoyed by what went on to be published as fiction in the name of literary art. *O vento assobiando nas gruas*, one of Jorge's most widely read works (not coincidentally, alongside *The Murmuring Coast*), was distinguished in 2002 with the Grand Prize of the Portuguese Writers' Association; the Correntes de Escrita annual contest for "writers of Iberian expression" (wherever in the world they are located); and, most notably, the first international Albatros Prize of the Günter Grass Foundation in Germany ("Lídia").[14] Formally, and conceptually much more challenging, *Irene ou o Contrato Social* had won the annual prize for fiction given by the Portuguese Association of Writers in 2000; two years later, in 2002, Maria Velho da Costa was recognized with the highest award for literature written in Portuguese, the coveted Camões Prize. It constituted an official recognition of the literary and cultural merit of her entire oeuvre. Nonetheless her message about the

miscegenated, diasporic condition of the Portuguese and, more broadly, of many Europeans in the post-colonial, increasingly globalized world, could not be timelier considering the cultural valence of the Lusotropicalist topus in the celebratory post-empire conjuncture. In an interview given to *Jornal de Letras* in May 2000, Velho da Costa emphasized the broader relevance of her character Orlando:

> [Ele] representa o futuro da Europa: ser mestiço. Já cá estão. Já cá estamos: nós próprios somos mestiços culturais, mestiços étnicos, mestiços linguísticos—não falamos só português. A mestiçagem ... é para mim um dos temas principais deste livro. (in Rogrigues da Silva 2000: 22)
>
> ([He] represents Europe's future: to be mestizo. They are here already. We are here already: we ourselves are cultural mestizos, ethnic mestizos, linguistic mestizos—we don't speak only Portuguese. Miscegenation ... is for me one of the main themes of this book.)

Even if *Irene ou o Contrato Social* touts on its back cover Orlando's motto "A arte não é nada à vida" (Costa 2000: 174—"Art is nothing [i.e. not related] to life"), the novel cannot but be seen to index the class, ethnic and racial rapports but also conflicts generated by migratory flows across the twentieth century related to histories of empire, including the would-be one of the Aryan race propounded by the Nazis. The multilingual verve of the text, with Cape Verdean creole mixed with German, French and English, needing no translation within the textual bounds of an always-already miscegenated, translated Portuguese, itself alludes to those flows of peoples talking across but also to each other in a given post-colonial European metropole. Specifically, though, by mixing Cape Verdean creole throughout the text with Portuguese, Costa—who served in 1988–1990 as Cultural Attaché for the Portuguese government in Cape Verde—may be presenting a critical poscript to the empire of "Lusofonia." That is the use of standard Portuguese—with no intervention from creoles or African languages—as a post-empire language of communication and mutual cooperation between nation-states that has Portuguese as an official language, a project ensuing from the July 1996 agreement mentioned earlier.

Further, Costa's novel appears to foreshadow the new orientation that the Commission for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities would take in 2007 as a public institution with the name of Alto Comissariado para a Imigração e Diálogo Intercultural (Peixe et al. 2008: 73—High Commission for Immigration and Intercultural Dialog). Its leader, Rui Marques, posits national identity as an interpretation to be achieved through deliberately

reading the past from the standpoint of a particular national present, defined by the presence of immigrants in Portugal. The difference, however, is that in *Irene ou o Contrato Social* the pasts are multiple and not so presentist or ethnocentric, inasmuch as a "miscegenated" identity is not Marques's "fusion" ("identidade de fusão"), in which parts or elements of the original differences between cultures are no longer visible. Between one and the other lies not Lusotropicalism per se but a broader transnational poetics of metropolitan post-colonial identities—in the plural. That poetics prescribes how a contemporary, formerly colonial society may live with or, rather, be constituted by, the multiple differences of those who live as immigrants under its purview in the present.

Despite the trend among the members of the European Union to combat racism through special education programs, in part culminating in the initiative to designate 2008 as the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue, provided that the notion of citizenship is tied to the social contract, there is bound to be racism and other forms of bigotry. In "Europe, an 'Unimagined' Frontier of Democracy," a text published in 2003, Etiènne Balibar denounces precisely "the irreducible anthropological racism" incorporated "into the very notion of political citizenship" (2003: 33). That is because not all members of society are deemed equally apt to reason and make decisions as required of citizens, therefore some are excluded from the social contract. Interestingly, Boaventura de Sousa Santos's address at the colloquium *Em tempos de Expo há outras histórias para contar* criticized the social contract on which democracies are theoretically founded and proposed the need for a new social contract (1998). That may be ultimately what *Irene ou o Contrato Social* challenges the reader to consider.

Where Lídia Jorge tells another story beyond the untold stories surrounding the oceans whose heritage EXPO Lisbon celebrates is in her suggestion of how old and "new" racisms can only be understood within the contexts of myriad social relations that involve economics but also relations of affect and intimacy, including sexual intimacy. In the present, as in the past, those relations are obviously marked by capital—those who have it and those who do not are clearly distinguished. And they are embedded in and are in themselves discursive formations, statements aligned with family stories that recall the past to illuminate predicaments of the present, the spaces and places where the present both repeats and alters the past, not to mention the past's still unimagined versions. Jorge, only partially following the counter-model proposed by Maria da Graça Freire in 1959, changes the gender terms of the typical biracial colonial couple, but Milene, the white woman in her narrative, is herself marginalized and othered by the dominant white community who only superficially seem

to accept her Cape Verdean lover; in the 1990s neoliberal democracy, the *noblesse* of global capital, so imposes it. Between the latter and the former colonial version of Lusotropicalism, Jorge inscribes noises—which cannot be spoken and much less written: the wind on a seashore undergoing rapid construction and development, and hence dislocating not only local poor people but the immigrants who had settled there; the African immigrant tokenism of Luso-African world music represented by the likes of Janina Mata King; the secret and not-so-secret lives of those involved in new business deals, from drug smuggling and distribution to real estate and leisure industries; and the dense, human-like figures who, even in their acts of self-integration through remembrance, remain, as Julia Kristeva noted about France, "strangers" to themselves (Kristeva).

In the mid-1990s, Maria Teresa Horta's *A paixão segundo Constança H.* (Horta 1994) had represented that foreigness in an experimental feminist form focusing on sexuality and relying almost exclusively on intertextual citation. It did not cause any political or even critical stir, unlike what had happened with her similarly intertextual tour de force *Minha senhora de mim* (Horta 1971), which was banned by censorship. This was the incident that reportedly prompted the writing of *New Portuguese Letters* (in Fernandes et al. 2003: 61). Evidently, in the post-dictatorship era a book announcing in its title some sort of feminine "passion" posited no moral or political challenge. And yet the author's career as a journalist and unrelenting feminist activist resistant to dominant cultural apparatuses had always been on par with her work as an artist of language. For all the criss-crossed literary and cinematic references in the novel, it is very much about its time and place, as analyzed earlier. As the dominant cultural and political order of the mid-1990s sent to the annual Eurovision Song Contest black citizens of Cape Verdean descent to represent Portugal, Horta reflects critically upon the classic stories of the Portuguese maritime epic that privileged male adultery as the nationalist, sexist topus of the then popular narrative of intercultural/interacial encounters. The lesbian swerve that she instills in that narrative does not, however, alter how the non-white/"African" or indigenous woman has been represented over the ages, either in Lusitanian or in Eurocentric cultural discourses. G.H.'s black maid, Lispector's urtext, is an emblematic example. Horta's Adele is for sure not a maid, but she remains the silent, dehumanized and abjected object of Constança's gaze—and the reader's gaze, even if uncomfortably so. It is as though Horta cannot think outside the box that epistemologically encloses the dark-skinned woman in the role of servant or concubine with respect to the white majority—whether in the colonial past or in the post-colonial present. And neither Maria Velho da Costa nor Lídia Jorge represents

the woman in question outside that peculiarly colonial-racist-sexist and heterosexist box, thereby contributing to the structural colonial racism that their texts tap on.

Conclusion

Is art, is literature, that which survives its historical and cultural contingencies because it does not aim so much to denounce, to tell one truth, as to dramatize by the instability of poetic language what is necessarily partial, incomplete, multiple, moving? The dark side of our conscious thoughts, wishes and fears, what remains foreign to ourselves so that, in all good conscience, one can proclaim anti-racism? The texts discussed here call upon the memory of the fascist-colonialist, closed-in home-nation to illuminate the post-colonial democratic nation, open to the immigrants who ultimately ensure its survival through their labor—their cheap labor—and their submission to an order of things that is not so different from the bygone colonial order. There may be "new racisms" for the eye of the social scientist, who knows better that "race" ceased to be considered biological after World War II and the formation of UNESCO. But they are perhaps not so different from those that caused pain, humiliation and death in the colonial past. Nor perhaps are the "new racisms" something altogether different from the those historically experienced by Portuguese immigrants working in menial jobs in economically developed countries; immigrants who became in such countries the *preto* or *alentejano* that they derided back home. At a structural level, the so-called new racisms are part and parcel of the objectification and humiliation experienced every day by men and women who are made to feel "other" vis-à-vis the local and contingent normative master subject who ensures their cultural intelligibility and legitimacy. In such circumstances, one is left to wonder whether the entanglements of post-colonial hybridity celebrated by Maria Velho da Costa and foreclosed by Lídia Jorge do not continue to silence and marginalize those who have historically been ascribed positions of otherness in relation to a dominant societal norm. As *épatant* as Orlando's masquerade of post-empire, postcolonial otherness may be, it is unclear how his figure critically intervenes in the colonial mindset that is still imperious in the aftermath of empire; the minset that racializes and marginalizes anyone considered less-than the rational citizen who is supposedly part of the post-authoritarian, colonial democratic social contract.

Notes

1 See Almeida 2002 for an overview of the discussion on national identity in the 1990s.

2 The phrase imputing racism to others, "racistas são os outros," is part of the received Lusotropicalist cultural common sense. The phrase is also meant to critically echo the belief that the "others" are the barbarians, not the Europeans who conquered them (see Sardar et al. 1996 and João Filipe Marques 2008).

3 The bibliography on the topic is substantial but, as expected, repetitive. See, for example, Machado 2004 for a detailed look at immigration during the 1980s and 1990s; and Pires 2010: 52–59 for a brief updated overview.

4 The lyrics of the national anthem were created in 1890 as a reaction to the British Ultimatum (see Chapter 1).

5 Namely, Bartolomeu Dias's rounding the Cape of Good Hope (1487); Vasco da Gama's voyage by sea to India (1498); and Pedro Alvares Cabral's arrival in Brazil (1500).

6 The use of Castilian rather than Spanish to refer to the language of translation is important in this context, as Castilian was the language brought to the New World in 1492 by Spain. Spain had similarly celebrated the 500th anniversary of Columbus's arrival in America and had hosted the World's Fair in Sevilla from April to October 1992. Its motto was "The Era of the Discoveries."

7 At the time, East Timor was still occupied by Indonesia; it joined the Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries when it became independent in 2002. Macau, a Portuguese colony until handed over to China in 1999, was never a member.

8 Sometime after the coup d'état of April 25, 1974, the national holiday was renamed "Day of Portugal, of Camões and of the Portuguese Communities," to include immigrants or, the Portuguese diaspora.

9 For example, the volume edited by Bruno Peixe Dias and Nuno Dias, *Imigração e racismo em Portugal*, published in 2012 as part of the collection organized by *Le Monde Diplomatique*. Mention should also be made of Joana Gorjão Henriques's books, published in 2016 and 2018 respectively, *Racismo em Português: O lado esquecido do colonialismo* and *Racismo no país dos brandos costumes*. These books fall outside the specific cultural problematic considered in the period focused on in this chapter. They are however important rejoinders to Ana Barradas's immediate response to the racist and, simultaneously, Lusotropicalist enunciations alternating in the 1990s.

10 It should be noted that Orlando da Costa (1929–2006), born in Mozambique of Goan and Portuguese descent, is the author of important novels about his experience living in Goa.

11 António Lobo Antunes would go on to publish *O meu nome é legião* (2007—*My Name is Legion*), focusing on yet another slum. See Arenas 2012: 174–184 for a good overview of film and literature on the topic.

12 Such projects outside major cities began to be built in the mid-1990s to do away with illegal, crime-infested neighborhoods, forcing their residents to live even further from the urban centers where most jobs were located (Horta 2008: 139–42). Pedro Costa's third instalment of the Fontainhas Trilogy, *Colossal Youth*, is about the move to one such housing project (Costa 2006).

13 There is a copy at Portugal's National Library; as per WorldCat, another exists at the University Michel de Montaigne in Bordeaux, France.

14 The Günter Grass Foundation's Albatros prize was awarded to both Lídia Jorge and the German translator of *O vento assobiando nas gruas*, Karin von Schweder-Schreiner.

Conclusion

Responding to a comment made by António de Sousa Franco (1942–2004), former prime minister and defeated presidential candidate Maria de Lurdes Pintasilgo (1930–2004) refutes the idea that the biggest accomplishment of the twentieth century was gender equality. While conceding that there were changes in the status of women as citizens, she points out that women continue to be invisible and to suffer social injustices. They still need to "discover" that kind of emancipation that enables them to contribute with new, original ideas to a world that, in spite of all the advancements, is still "exclusively attached to what is already known" (Pintasilgo 2005: 64–65). Hopefully the previous chapters have shown how women have contributed to a story of Portuguese colonialism that is unknown, not because Salazar denied it from the 1950s but because it is centered around its most silent and silenced agents, eyewitnesses, memorialists and in the end engaged writers.

Selections of their literary texts have been brought to focus and interpreted not through the filter of "theory," postcolonial or not, but through a wide range of interdisciplinary contextual materials delineating five historically specific conjunctures of empire from the turn of the twentieth century to the early twenty-first. Not all of the main texts, nor of the secondary sources, that I have chosen to comment upon are unknown; some of them, for example, *New Portuguese Letters* and Lídia Jorge's novels, have rightly deserved much attention and critical acclaim. But they have not been read in connection with numerous other texts that have remained in the shadows for many decades and that are part of the question of what women had to do with Portuguese late colonialism, the story arc that this book has aimed to piece together. In view of the critical privileging (including my own) of contemporary texts, those that seem to most directly speak to what we know or can intuit from our immediate experience and/or that of our parents and grandparents or those of their generations, it is more important than ever not to limit academic inquiry to the post-dictatorship and post-decolonization cultural

production connected in one way or another to the memorialist turn. Moving on to the post-memory of the "Children of empire" is intellectually exciting in part for its view beyond the repetitive and hence "amnesiac" common places associated with the *retornado* memory boom.[1] But it risks suggesting that it is not important to inquire into the past of the past, itself also made of historical memory, referring to the longer duration of twentieth-century colonialism in Africa. Being at least partially familiar with some of the available materials of that largely ignored archive may help us recognize its echoes in condensed poetic form calling through the living memories of the present.

That provoking call of a past before the past can be perceived, for example, in *Caderno de memórias coloniais* (2009—*Notebook of Colonial Memories* [2015]) by the *desterrada* or exiled rather than *retornada* Isabela Figueiredo (1963–). Before briefly turning to how the much critically acclaimed (as well as popularly disputed) literary text invites the questioning of what is known and not known about twentieth-century Portuguese colonialism, a critical reflection on what traditionally has counted as historical knowledge in regard to empire and/or colonialism is in order.

Portuguese historians have still not tapped into how literary (and other artistic) texts can contribute to understanding the past and indeed contribute to the production of new historical knowledge. Part of the negative consequences of rejecting the archive of art and imagination is a continuing gender-blind and hence masculinist-normed view of the past. In the introduction to her history of the colonial settlement of Angola and Mozambique (1920–1974), Cláudia Castelo explains that, besides making a contribution to social-scientific knowledge, her research project—originally her PhD dissertation—was prompted by the fact that narratives of memory about Africa tend to fulfill an emotional rather than an investigative or interpretative function leading to the reinforcement of unexamined common senses and myths about colonialism (2007: 17). She has obviously has in mind Lusotropicalism, the topic of her previous book, a history of how Gilberto Freyre's arguments about the "the Portuguese way of being in the world" found their way into Portuguese colonial ideology between 1933 and the beginning of armed struggle in Angola in 1961 (Castelo 1998). As noted in Chapter 3, despite the breath of Castelo's research in both quantitative and qualitative sources, her use of literary texts to shed light on either how Lusotropicalism circulated culturally or how it was openly connected with the challenges of colonial settlement is limited at best. Reading her otherwise impressive and prolific output, it is as if no cultural commentator ever critically exposed the myth in question or made public personal opinions and emotions connected with colonialism and settlement. On top of such

deliberate exclusions by a historian concerned with the truth value of historical sources and confronting the charge that memory narratives simply repeat what is already known, one might consider how the interpretation of the chosen verifiable or authoritative historical sources—and not the criteria that went into their selection—reinforces the traditional, exclusively masculinist view of history. Ironically women are not discussed as a category of settler different and apart from the couple or the larger community of settlers. And yet without women there would be no settlement—that much we learn from the many literary and non-literary tracts that have called attention to that fact since the 1920s. Importantly, the women who authored them did so having had direct experience, in addition to potentially book-based knowledge, of the topic of European colonialism in Africa.

The great majority of the writers whose texts have been queried were not "returnees" in the sense of those who felt forced to leave the Portuguese African colonies in 1974–1975 in the months leading to and shortly after their respective independence. Nevertheless, they wrote based on, and arguably moved by, what they witnessed while living for one or more periods of their lives in Africa. Maria Archer, Guilhermina de Azeredo, Maria Lamas, Maria da Graça Freire, Wanda Ramos and Lídia Jorge moved there owing to individual circumstances of childhood and/or early adulthood as young women. With the exception of Lídia Jorge, who returned prompted by the new political scenario opened by the April 25, 1974 coup d'état, all other writers returned to the metropole for personal reasons. Years later, they wrote not of and with the "colonial nostalgia" that French historian Patricia Lorcin has identified in a number of women writers associated with Kenya and Algeria since 1900. Rather, as observed throughout the present book, they wrote stories suggesting the social and moral, and in a few cases, political misgivings they had concerning the colonial enterprise. Many of the texts published before the 1950s note the lack of settlers and unpreparedness of the few living in African colonies without the support of appropriate institutions, the negative effects of which are emblematized by anxious discussions regarding "women" as markers of (European) "civilization" and "women" as domestic/colonial "homemakers." More frequently the writers here perused represent in various ways the racist violence that colonialism entailed against African persons and their cultures. That includes, as seen in Chapter 4, the irrational, violent war and its traumatic effects along with the government lies that attempted to sustain colonialism-as-war indefinitely. And it includes as well, as we saw in Chapter 5, not only bitter critiques of post-empire Lusotropicalist common sense, but, closely connecting with them, the denouncement of what Boaventura de Sousa Santos described early on as "the racism of decolonization." Which is not to say that such

literary representations themselves do not perform and risk perpetuating the colonizer's most systematic violence—that of the European colonialist gaze. Maria Archer, for one, self-reflexively problematizes it in the creative essay, *Angola Filme* (1937).

Academic historians reacting to the emotional, idealized or traumatic but in the end personal, ungeneralizable quality of the colonial memories authored by so-called *retornados* symptomatically do not reference any particular title. They connect them in toto with what Elizabeth Jelin describes as the cultural exploitation of "'memory entrepreneurs'" in formerly repressive states; and charge the memorialist boom in Portuguese culture with reiterating commonplaces associated with Luso-exceptionalism (e.g. Pinto and Jerónimo 2015: 112; Jerónimo 2016: 82–84).[2] If such statements were proffered before the close of the first decade of the twenty-first century, as was the case with Castelo, one would be able to say that they had never heard or read in the daily press about the editorial splash made by Isabela Figueiredo's *Caderno de memórias coloniais* (2009—*Notebook of Colonial Memories* [2015]). For in fact the success of the book rests on what many readers reduced to a sincere (i.e. unartistic) rendition of the author's highly charged emotional memories in connection with the bond of love tying her and her memories of life in Africa to her father.[3] This assumption does not however suggest understanding (much less appreciating) Figueiredo's deliberate, well-informed and aesthetically productive shattering of colonialist myths ingrained in "Luso" imperialist culture by way of the repetitive citation of the offensive, racist and vulgar language that colonists—and metropolitans alike—used (use?) in their day-to-day personal lives to refer to life in that far-away Africa that is no more.

Strung from a blog that the Mozambican-born author kept four years previously, the fragmentary text deserves the praise of sociologist Mário Artur Machaqueiro in an essay focusing on narrative memories of former European empires. He considers Figueiredo's text exceptional among the wave of decolonization memories due to the fact that it admits to a "irremovable fault" that it is impossible to annul or push away (2015: 237). It is the collective fault of colonialism, in which the narrator includes herself—the passage claiming that "Um desterrado é uma estátua de culpa" (Figueiredo [2009], 8th edn, 2015a: 214; Figueiredo 2015b: 134) is often quoted in that respect. Yet it is overwhelmingly her father—respecting, of course, the autobiographical fictional contract—who represents the fault of or blame for colonialism.

The father's sexual activity with African women coupled with his racist violence, along with public shows of paternalism, were perfectly integrated in the regime's structures of domination such as corporativism and practices

of social control that constituted "the art of knowing how to last," to quote historian Fernando Rosas's subtitle *Salazar e o Poder: A arte de saber durar* (2013). "Foder. O meu gostava de foder" (2015a: 42—"Fucking. My father liked fucking" 2015b: 31)—so begins the third fragment of Figueiredo's colonial memoir. Considering that the previous fragment describes what may be regarded as an anthropological scenario of colonial male (hetero) sexist and racist sexuality, the synthetic crudeness with which the following fragment opens may be regarded as the theme or psychoanalytical "fixion" around which and through which the broader collective nexus of writing-as-remembering emerges.[4] The narrator connects it to the father's sensuality and general *joie de vivre*, something with which she herself often identifies. But it is important to remember that the father's sexual desire is preferentially connected with African women in opposition to the lack of desirability of the wife-mother. The narrator herself paints such a picture, reducing the potential sensuality of the mother's otherwise "geometric and thin" body to her full breasts (Figueiredo 2015a: 206), representative of women's preassigned maternal function. And hence the "sickness" of the colonial mother—to evoke the suggestively crafted leit-motif of Dulce Maria Cardoso's *O retorno* (2011—*The Return*). Cast as a mostly annoying disciplinary and/or worrying figure, the mother remains silent and pushed away from the perspective of the daughter, who proudly registers episodes of disobedience and subversion of both the colonial mother's racial supremacist law and the sexually repressive feminine education that she imparts. Mozambican writer Paulina Chiziane's intelligent and solidly feminist reading of *Caderno*, appended as one of the prefaces to the Caminho/Leya edition, notes indeed that Portuguese men ran to enjoy the beautiful and captivating bodies of African women, thus sexually neglecting their own women (16). She concludes that the white women were "as principais vítimas da violência do colonialismo, mesmo antes dos negros" (19—"the main victims of the violence of colonialism, even before the negros").

The "fault" of colonialism that Isabela de Figueiredo's only superficially unassuming literary text succeeds in dramatizing has to do as much with that victim role conveniently played by women (in the colonies and elsewhere) as to the violence associated with patriarchy and with colonialism in general as an extension of that order. And the "fault," as *Caderno* powerfully illustrates, is connected with the language: the language that sticks to memory and may be used without awareness of where it came from and who and how it offends, hurts, marks beyond historical and political periodizations; and, just as important, beyond the supposedly discreet intimacy of the white man's house.

While none of the texts queried in the present book offers the presumably collective *mea culpa* that *Caderno de memórias coloniais* performs more than

three decades after decolonization, they do offer evidence to support the post-colonial woman-centered memoir. Its synthetic, no-frills and yet poetic representation of colonialism easily harks back to literary texts written by women referring to the early days of would-be colonial settlement in the twentieth century. It is not about a facile, Manichaean blame of the colonist father: it is about how the traditional, Western normative politics of gender coupled with white European and Christian notions of sexuality supported and reproduced the racist violence sex to which colonialism boils down.

It is precisely due to their engagement with the intimacy of life, with the invisible or simply ignored domain of experience that never makes it into history books, that literary works may help reexamine received ideas about the power dynamics not only of race but of gender and sexuality that are perpetuated by narratives of the Portuguese empire, including the latest original ones presenting aspects of the formerly silenced history of colonialism in Africa. Hence the importance of zeroing in what women writers have had to say about that process along with how the Salazar/Caetano's regime, those opposed to it and those who followed manipulate—and indeed colonize—women as bodies and in the end adaptable signifiers. Calling attention to their works and signaling both their insight and courage to deconstruct ready-made formulas of colonialist ideology is one of the aspirations of the present book.

Notes

1 See the important collaborative research project led by Margarida Calafate Ribeiro, "Mémoirs: Filhos do império e pós-memórias europeias" (2015–2020), with funding from the European Research Council for 2015–2020.

2 Some examples of narratives idealizing colonial life in Africa are *Os retornados: Um amor nunca se esquece* (2008—*The Returnees: A Love is Never Forgotten*), published by Júlio Magalhães; António Trabulo's *Retornados—O adeus à África* (2009—*The Returnees—Goodbye to Africa*); and *À sombra do imbondeiro* (2012—*Under the Baobab's Shade*), by Isabel Valadão. For a longer and varied list of "retornado" memorialist works with commentary, see Pitta (2010) and Machaqueiro (2015).

3 I owe this insight to Anna M. Klobucka and Phillip Rothwell's Introduction to their translation of the book (2015: 8).

4 Brazilian psychoanalysts Andréia Máris Campos Guerra et al. (2017) understand "fixion" as a nodal or quilting point that connects the fiction through which every self-narrative is told to the subject's own body and to other bodies in history (especially 2039–41).

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